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RECORDS SELECTION—A COOPERATIVE TASK

SUPPOSE that some one had the authority to require that for one week only those government officials could write down anything in a transaction who were directly concerned in it, and only those documents and copies of them could be created that could be written longhand without delaying the action. Those officials would have to think sternly about what is worth recording, and the records product would be far smaller than usual. For current management the records problem would be simplified. For future users of archives the value of the records would be immeasurably enhanced. And present day archivists would be relieved of one of their most serious challenges—that of selection for preservation.

Since no one does exercise such prudent authority in the United States today, records pile up at what seems an ever-faster pace. The effects of mass accumulation were described for readers of *The Indian Archives* by the Archivist of the United States, Dr. Wayne C. Grover, in an article in this Journal in 1950.[1] American archivists, he noted, have found themselves in the position of discouraging the production of records, a position that would have seemed novel some decades ago. This policy has been highly selective in its aim, but defining and applying selection standards has presented problems among the most difficult facing the modern archivist. We cannot yet say that the accelerated production is under control. We cannot say that the most informative possible body of archives is being formed. Nor can we say that all officials involved in the various phases of selection know and apply similarly the standards that have been set forth. In this state of affairs it is vital that we review constantly the techniques being developed for control in terms both of management and of the future archival heritage.

As Roger Ellis pointed out in *The Indian Archives* in 1950,[2] the records

[1] Wayne C. Grover, "A Note on the Development of Records Centres in the United States", *The Indian Archives*, Vol. IV (1950); pp. 160-63.

[2] Roger H. Ellis, "Archive and Ministry", *The Indian Archives*, Vol. IV (1950); pp. 188-91.

office must be the adviser of the producing ministries (or "agencies" in the United States) on the disposal of their non-current files. The common objectives to which archivists are brought by their similar experiences with masses of modern records is shown by the fact that Mr. Ellis' article is practically an outline of what the National Archives and Records Service (an element of the General Services Administration) is working to-ward in the United States. One can only underline his stress on the importance of what happens to records in the period when they are dormant, when to the agency they seem to be "growing less and less important while to the historian, the economist, and countless other students they are growing more and more so."

Dr. Grover described the plan for a series of Federal Records Centres, which are chiefly concerned with records in this "dormant" period. Actually with nearly a million reference requests in a year the two million cubic feet of records already transferred to the centres operated by the National Archives and Records Service have proved hardly dormant, but they do occupy the intermediate stage of which Mr. Ellis wrote. Reluctant though some of us were to see any organization come between the National Archives itself and the records creating offices, the fact is that the problem had outgrown the establishment originally set up as the National Archives. The organization of current records staffs and records centres in a Records Management Division as a part of the broader National Archives and Records Service has made possible close coordination.

Selection is controlled legally by the National Archives review of all disposal proposals by any agency of the Government. On that review is based the required authorization of the Congress. Several steps have been taken to simplify the procedure, to assure that we are not lost in paper-work. One was the provision by law in 1943 for disposal schedules of continuing effect. This was extended in 1945 by provision for "general schedules" initiated by the National Archives and covering records of types common to all agencies. More recently the publication of guidelines in evaluation has furthered general understanding of aims. This included the recognition of a core of records that should constitute the basic archives of any agency, outlined in a manual, *Disposition of Federal Records,* published in 1949.[3] Establishment of a Records Scheduling Branch in the Records Management Division of the new Service has made full time personnel available for consultation and assistance to agencies in this work in

[3] Theodore R. Schellenberg, *Disposition of Federal Records,* National Archives, Washington, D.C., 1949. The idea of a basic core of records that should be sought for preservation in any government organization was brought out in *Public Records Management,* by Philip C. Brooks (primarily for state and local government), Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1949.

Washington, D.C., and similar help is provided in the ten regional offices. Previously, while advising the agencies on evaluation was a major responsibility of the National Archives, its staff could not devote to this work the time that it deserved.

There are still problems, however, to which all records officials must be alert. For one, it has long since been evident that we must reconcile ourselves to conscious selection, with some attendant hazard of unwise or intentionally biassed choice. It would be far worse to rely on the natural growth of an unconsciously selected body of archives, for normal attrition would not suffice and the best records might easily be lost. The volume accumulated would bury us. Furthermore, economy would lead the administrators of the Government to take the problem completely out of the hands of the professional archivists.

While publication of standards is a primary responsibility and to be constantly developed, standards can go only so far. Among types of records common to all agencies in form and procedure, chiefly those dealing with administrative or "housekeeping" activities, the majority can be dealt with in this way. The most progress on "general schedules," for example, has been made in the personnel and fiscal fields because operations of all agencies are governed by uniform rules of the Civil Service Commission and General Accounting Office. But for the "programme" records, those that deal with the particular functions that the various agencies were established to perform, it is difficult to establish standards in any but the most general terms. We can advise the saving of "top level" policy correspondence files, case files involving definite rights or responsibilities of the Government or individual citizens, or basic sets of narrative operational reports. But there are real differences among correspondence files set up in various ways and various kinds of agencies; between case files of social security clients and farm loan clients; and between report files of a supply service and a scientific research agency. On such as these special judgment is required and no predetermined standards can entirely suffice.

At best disposal schedules are not always so crystal clear that they do not need some interpretation in specific application. Whether or not given series of records are covered by generalized titles on schedules, for example, is to be decided in an on-the-spot decision. Whether or not they meet certain standards of content stated on schedules can be an involved question, sometimes more so in the field than at Washington. Much of this interpretation can be a matter of common sense. But the more the people who apply schedules understand of archival aims the sounder the selection will be. Most administrators have little reason to consider the

values of records as legal and historical evidence, and the attendant need for keeping them intact. This, along with the increasing mechanization and formalization of procedures, causes correspondence and memoranda that explain why things have been done to be disappointingly thin in modern archives. While the most conservative archivist will agree that only a small share of records now created warrant being kept, he will rightly hope that more than current administrative needs bear on the choice of those that are to be preserved.

For this reason the appointment of experienced records officers in the operating agencies is especially important. It now has legal backing in the Federal Records Act of 1950, which greatly strengthens the groundwork for sound records management and archival administration. These officials give all their attention to records problems of their organizations, as administrators carrying out operating programmes cannot be expected to do. Most agencies and their major field offices have them. The National Archives and Records Service brings them together in the Interagency Records Administration Conference, and promotes their work by consultation, advice in scheduling, publication of standards, and production of general schedules. It encourages them to carry a big stick in disposal but to speak softly of records of high level importance and high content value.

At a focal point in the process of selection are the records centres (comparable to the British "limbo"), and current records staffs. They exist in each of the ten regions of the General Services Administration, and in several large agencies which operate their own records programmes, for major examples the Army, Navy, and the Department of State. While the National Archives does the final appraisal and formulates the standards, the records management units must guide the agencies in their on-the-spot decisions, in their initial proposals for disposal authorization, and in their interpretation of schedules once issued.

So far the records centres themselves, of the National Archives and Records Service, have been largely preoccupied in accessioning records to get them out of expensive office space, and in giving effective reference service on them. The phase of disposal control is just now getting well under way. This means analyzing varied holdings of the centres and applying or devising disposition programmes so that the fate of all records in centres will be known. This whole disposition programme, in agencies and centres, offers a major challenge in the evaluation of modern mass records.

Thirteen years ago I wrote an article emphasizing the fact that selection takes place at every phase of what I called the "life history of

records," from creation to final destruction or archival deposit.[4] We have learned a great deal by experience since then. But it is still true that every decision or action regarding records, beginning with the planning of paperwork procedures and selection of paper stock, affects the determination of what records are saved and which are not. By the same token no one of the several authorities in succession can have exclusive control of evaluation.

Who are the best judges of value? The question has no simple or definite answer. Who can best say how long a set of tax returns need be kept for legal claim purposes, investigations, or for economic research if restrictions on access are lifted in future years? Who knows just how many hundred year old fiscal registers, no longer involving any accountability, we can afford to keep for exhibit or occasional research purposes? Who can judge whether or not statistical schedules have enough unexploited data to merit preservation? Who knows both accounting procedures and filing methods well enough to evaluate records needed for audit and claims settlement? Who is the best authority on what "policy" files are and which may be needed for future administrative precedent or for historical research?

On some of these questions the administrator, the attorney, the historian, and the archivist may each have a valid judgment. The process must be highly cooperative. To bring various points of view to bear it may be complex. In the United States Government it has been materially simplified in recent years; but there are limits to the wisdom of simplification.

The National Archives has come more clearly than in its early years to depend upon the creating agencies for judgments of administrative and legal value. The administrator who handles papers currently, or who devises operating procedures, knows what activities the records portray better than could an outsider making a survey. Much of the selection by administrators is not consciously done for archival purposes, consisting of decisions as to whether or not to make file copies, whether to include certain papers in case files, and the like. These actions are part of the natural growth of archives upon which archivists could depend some decades ago.

But more and more administrators are having to share the conscious selection process, if only because cost of records care looms large in their budgets. And they have much to contribute. In addition to knowledge

[4] Philip C. Brooks, "The Selection of Records for Preservation", *The American Archivist*, Vol. III (1940); pp. 221-34. Dr. P. Basu was kind enough to summarize it in his "Records and Archives: What are They?", *The Indian Archives*, Vol. II (1948); pp. 79-80.

of current needs they are in a position to know the future financial liabilities and legal responsibilities of the Government in their respective fields. Among the administrators, management specialists who are especially conscious of organization and function have often proved highly useful. In respect to records antedating their own periods of service, however, the administrators' knowledge and interest rapidly decline.

File supervisors in creating agencies usually know the content and specific uses of records in their care better than anybody else. Within the scope of their normal assignments they may be good judges of value. Normally they are conservative, on a short range view. Their tendency is naturally to keep many records, and often duplicates, to serve any possible inquiry from their administrators. Usually their interest fades as the usefulness of records for current administration declines. Numerous examples could be cited, though, of file supervisors who have developed intelligent interest in the broad phases of records management and in recent trends. We can say with some confidence that the promotional work of the National Archives, later the National Archives and Records Service, and the Interagency Records Administration Conference have contributed to this fact, bringing file supervisors and archivists into closer understanding.

To turn to the other end of the records sequence, we have had little success in applying the judgment of users to evaluation problems. At various times historians, economists, sociologists and others have been asked to tell us what they would like to see saved among Government records. But they have not generally known enough of the mass from which choices must be made to be helpful. Nor have they had reason to know the administrative complexities involved. In local history this source of advice has been highly useful. But on the scale of national "big government", the historians' lore of nineteenth century political documents, or of well known sources like diplomatic correspondence loses its effectiveness. Diplomatic history, indeed, is a good illustration. Down to 1906 State Department correspondence was filed in bound manuscript volumes country by country. Historians know them well. Since that date foreign relations and departmental organization have been so complex that two successive general filing schemes have been used for headquarters records, and the historians have been more nearly at the mercy of the archivists.

So in evaluation one comes to the role of the archivist as the middle man between the producer and the consumer of records. In viewing his role in selection, we should recognize that whereas fifteen years ago nearly

all the trained archivists in the Federal Government were in the National Archives, now there are persons of archival training and experience in many other spots. A number of National Archives staff members have gone to other agencies, particularly those who headed the records work of the military and naval services in the war, and that of the various emergency agencies then and since. Archival training and experience, with its heavy emphasis upon historical research methods and materials, should make persons alert to values in records that would not normally be evident to administrators. And those who have met the needs of searchers in the reference service of the National Archives are in a unique position to appreciate the non-administrative uses of records.

In the one complete archival curriculum in this country now, that at The American University in Washington, serious attention is given to evaluation problems. Many who have not been through this course of study have absorbed some of the archival point of view in special lectures, reading, or in the body of professional knowledge handed down in on-the-job training. They have considered such questions as what kinds of value are there? What kinds of correspondence and memoranda files are likely to contain information on why policies are adopted? How much should the cost of preservation weigh against the potential research value of records? What kinds of materials do diplomatic, economic, or social historians, genealogists and population specialists want to use? When can sampling by selected examples or by random statistical cross section be well applied? What effects do statutes of limitations have on records preservation in various fields? What constitutes museum or exhibit value? What are the dangers of piece-by-piece weeding? There are no absolute answers to these questions, but they have many applications. The person who has dealt with them well enough to recognize the answers in specific cases is likely to be the best all-round judge of records values.

Our effort is to get informed application of selection standards as early as possible in the life history of records. This is being done by having persons with archival training and experience in the records staffs of operating agencies and in records centres. It must be carried further by presenting to administrators clear enough statements of basic selection aims to arouse their interest and appreciation. We must let them know that they as well as the archivists share the accountability of the Government to the governed, which is in large part manifest in the records of Government operations. We cannot expect administrators, who have the authority and resources to effect good records management,

to be archivists or historians. We cannot expect them to devote a large share of their attention to archival interests. But if we set forth the values of records in meaningful terms we can enlist their cooperation. This puts a high premium on effective liaison work by records personnel. It requires an ability to present highlights in non-technical terms. It means that archivists should write not only for *The Indian Archives* and *The American Archivist* but also for the journals on public administration.

PHILIP C. BROOKS

A NOTE ON MARATHA CARTOGRAPHY*

As a result of a discussion at the Bhopal Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held in February 1953 and the facilities given by the Museum of Western India, Bombay, this note has been written. The observations are of a preliminary nature and are intended to draw the attention of research workers to this important aspect of the source materials on Maratha History.

It is well known that the present-day high standard in Indian Cartography owes its origin and development, almost entirely, to the introduction of Western technique in map-making by Europeans. The *Decima Tabulae Asiae* sheet of Ptolemy's map (*c.* 160 A.D.) is the earliest known example. During the Middle Ages, the Indian sub-continent figures in several general maps prepared by the cartographers of the commercial powers of the Mediterranean.[1] A more detailed and accurate mapping of India followed the territorial expansion of the East India Company.[2] But so far no major contribution either by the Mughals or by the Marathas, the predecessors of the Company, has come to light, and the need to explore systematically this field of historical research has been stressed by Phillimore and some useful hints have been given by Sircar.[3] In this note the maps in the Bombay Collection have been examined for the purpose of indicating certain features of cartographic interest and for assessing the value of this material as a source for studying Maratha History.

In the twenty and odd maps that were examined at the Museum, it is possible to recognise three broad types:—(i) Cadastral Maps; (ii) Plans of Fortifications; and (iii) Area Maps.[4]

Cadastral Maps

Only one map of this class was examined. This is a plan of a garden

* Grateful acknowledgements are due to Dr. Moti Chandra and his staff at the Bombay Museum for the generous facilities that were given in studying their Map Collection, and to the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona, for similar assistance in carrying out a comparative study of their collection.

[1] *Eg.* Fra Mauro's world map, 1459; The Catalan World Map, 1375; Ortelius's *"Theatrum Orbis Terrarum"*, 1570; Mercator's *'Atlas'* 1585; Sir F. Drake's map of the world based on Hondius's (*c.* 1590) gives a surprisingly good shape of the Indian Peninsula.

[2] Phillimore, R. H., *Historical Records of the Survey of India,* (Dehra Dun, 1945), Vol. I, Chap. 1.

[3] *The Indian Archives:* Vol. IV, pp. 43-44, and Vol. V, pp. 60-63. A general survey of the Poona Collection appears in D. V. Kale's paper on Maratha 'Maps and Charts' in the *Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala Quarterly,* Oct.-Dec., 1948.

[4] It is usual to judge a map by the following main standards:—Quality of paper, calligraphy, conventional signs, scale, clarity and purpose for which a map is drawn. *See* for greater details, Hinks, A. R., *Maps & Survey,* (Cambridge, 1933), Chap. 2, 'The Modern Map' p. 10 ff.

giving its layout and indicating the various trees and flowering plants to be grown in the area. The map is on hand-made paper and in *'Modi'* lettering, but has no indication of a scale. The kinds of trees and plants proposed to be laid out show to some extent the prevailing public taste in flowers and also the economic status of the owner. There are no direct clues for the purpose of dating this map, but it would not be impossible to draw indirect inferences through the information contained in such a map. When, for example, were flowering plants like *'Sadagulab'*, *'Belia'*, *'Gulboksh'*, mentioned in this map, either introduced or held in public esteem?

It is more than probable that Maratha records contain a large number of such cadastral maps, more specifically related to revenue matters, since the Marathas had a fairly well developed revenue system.

Plans of Fortifications

In view of the great importance attached by the Marathas to forts, in their strategy, one might naturally expect a large number of such plans among the Maratha records. In the Museum Collection the following are of special interest:—Vijayadurg (*), Bhudargad (15.430), Janjira (15.424), Badāmi (15.427), and Seringapatam (*).[5]

Certain common features are shared by all these maps. In addition to the use of hand made paper, these are of course hand drawn, in black and white mostly, and carry *'Modi'* lettering. These maps are intended to show either the detailed constructions for defence or to show in general the strategic disposition of a place. Each of these maps, however, has some special feature of interest.

(*a*) *Vijayadurg.*[6] This is a large map of Vijayadurg, a fort on the Konkan Coast that has played a prominent role in Maratha history. The map shows in detail the walls, gun turrets, emplacements, fresh water tanks, food and ammunition dumps, and important residential buildings. The fort is neatly drawn in plan, but buildings are shown pictorially in elevation. Every place of tactical importance is indicated by clear lettering. While the basic framework of the map is in black ink, dark brown, brownish red and yellow are used as a decoration to fort ramparts and buildings. The map has no scale, but it embodies the important

[5] Numbers in brackets refer to the Museum Classification; those bearing an asterisk mark have been recently acquired by the Museum and are in the process of being 'restored' and catalogued. It is important to note also that the titles given here to the maps described are those selected by the author of this paper. The maps themselves do not bear any formal 'title'.

[6] 16.28 N.-73.26 E.; Survey of India Topo. 47 H/6.

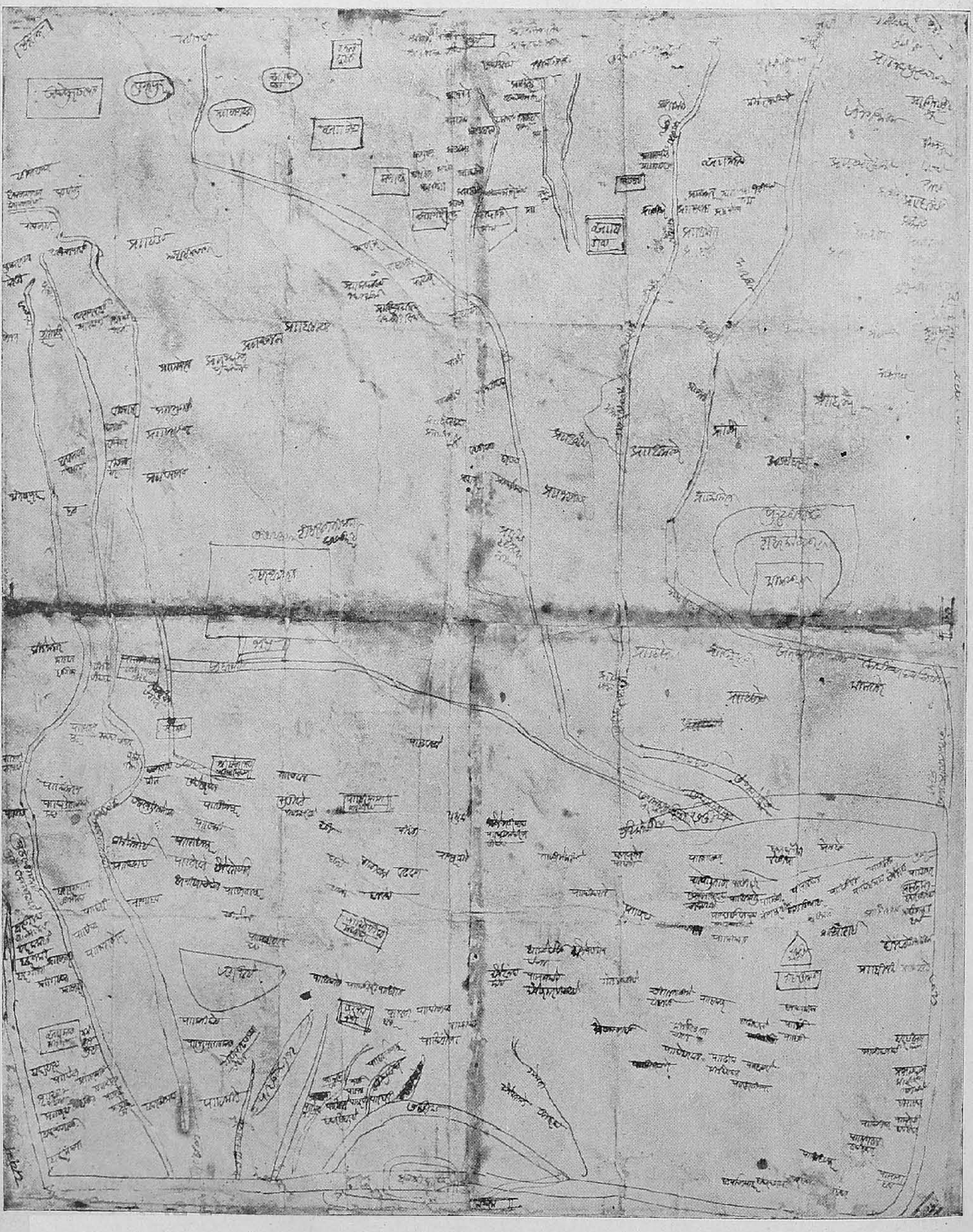
PLATE I

EAST

Fort Vijayadurg

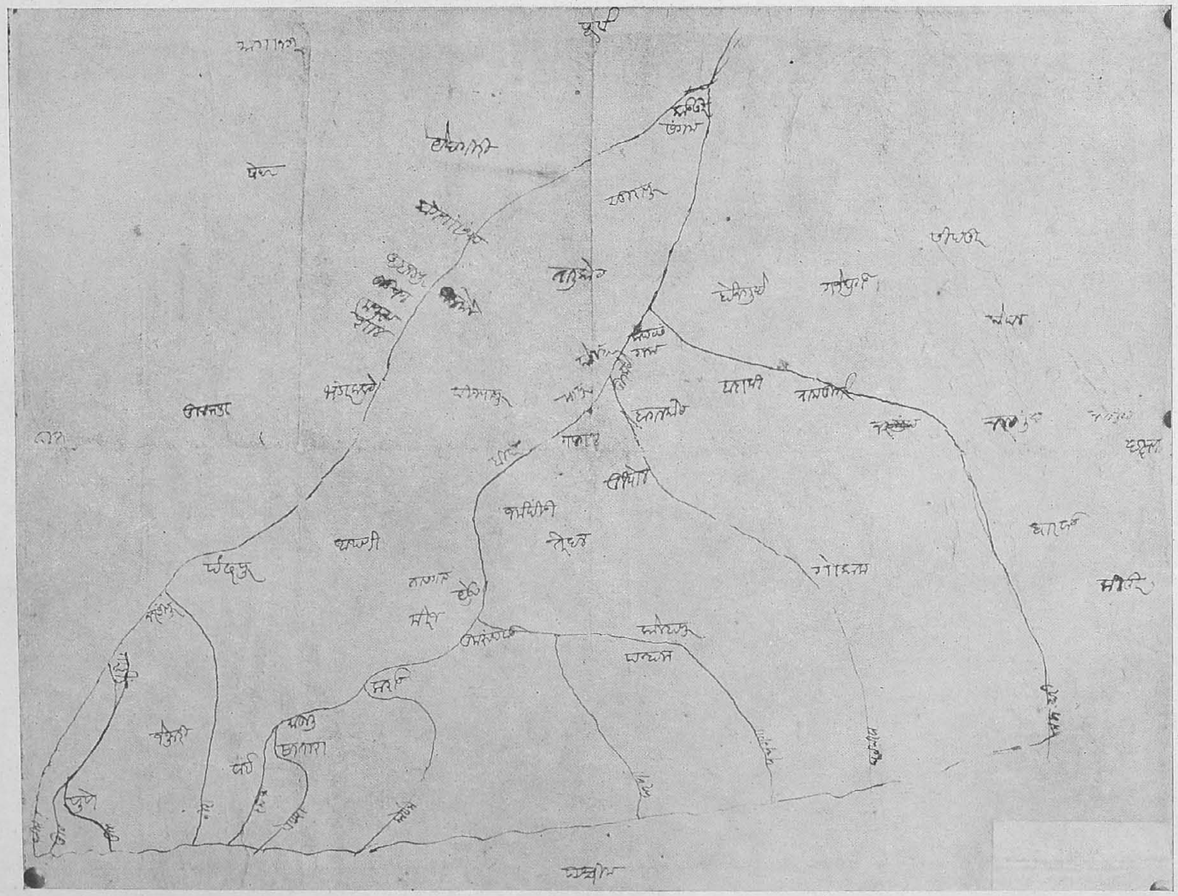
PLATE II

EAST



The Gujarat-Kathiawar Map

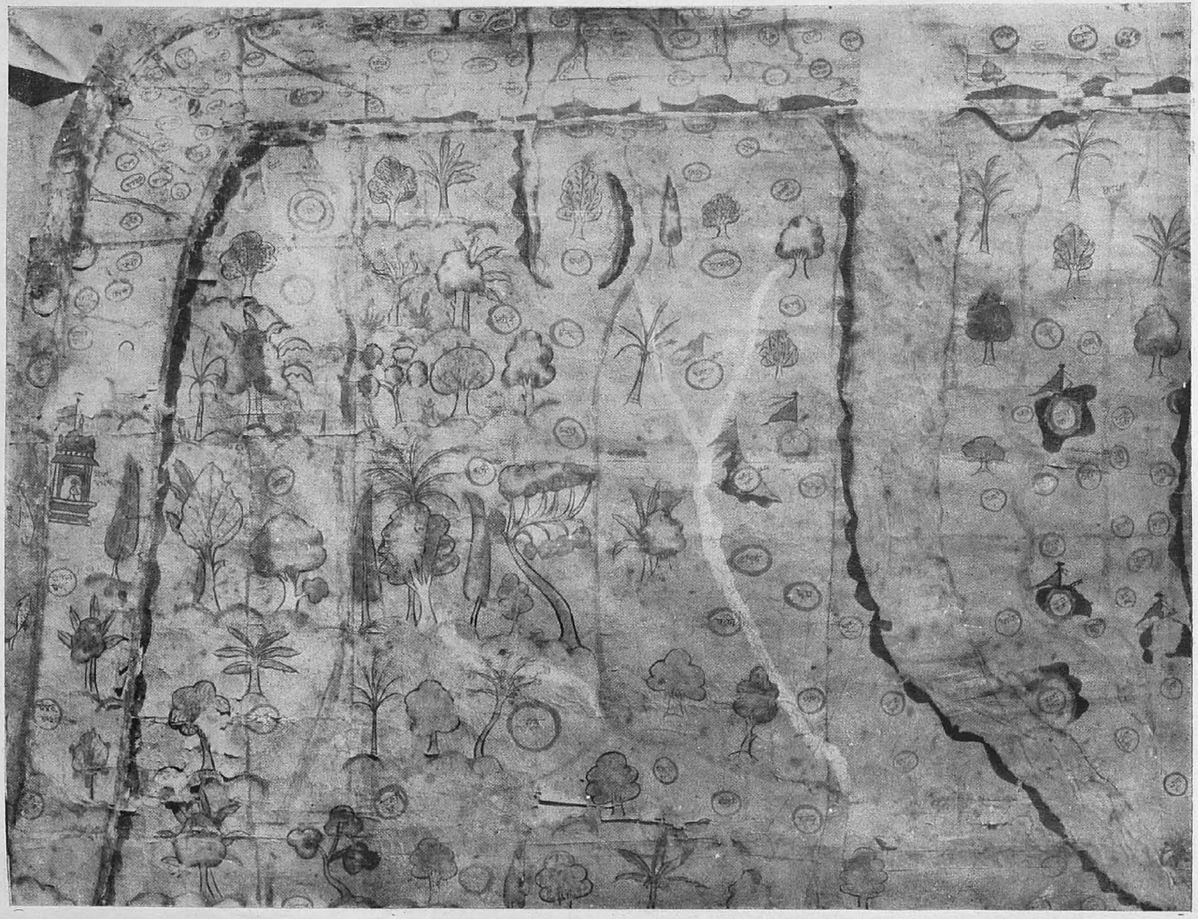
EAST



The Bhima-Malaprabha Map

PLATE IV

WEST



A portion of the West Coast-Krishna-Tungabhadra Map

feature of a "Compass Rose" which is placed right inside the fort to show the North-South and East-West directions. These are further written in the traditional form of eight directions—*Ashtadisha*—along the edge of the map. The map is oriented to the East, and this, to a modern map-reader who is trained to read all maps with a Northern orientation, comes as a striking feature of Maratha maps. A final point worth noting about this map is that although the map is oriented to the East, the lettering is 'circular', that is, one has to revolve the map to read it.

(*b*) *Bhudargad.*[7] This like the Vijayadurg map has an Eastern orientation and is written in *Modi,* but *Devanagari* script occurs here and there.[8] In some respects it indicates a definite cartographical advance: a conventional sign is used to show natural scarps or precipices; distances to neighbouring forts and villages are given along the edge of the map in '*kosas*'[9]; and there is a good deal of written matter that makes this map much more eloquent than the Vijayadurg map. The condition of the moat and the state of water are precisely described; gates, paths, gun positions are shown, with notes on their recent repairs; measurements of fortified features and their dovetailing into natural precipices are given in '*Haths*'. The condition of fresh water supply inside the fort and of the arsenals is also indicated in writing. Altogether the plan, the symbols, and the lettering employed in this map are so effective as to leave the reader in no doubt about the purpose of this map, which was to indicate the state of efficiency of Bhudargad as a fort.

(*c*) *Janjira and Badāmi.*[10] These two maps are more in the nature of rough sketches than well designed drawings, but show several common features with the maps already described such as an Eastern orientation, fort indicated in plan, measurements of fortifications in *Haths* and distances in *Kosas.* There is, however, an indication of improvement in one important respect. In both the Janjira and the Badāmi maps, an attempt is made, however crudely, to show relief by lines, a faint suggestion of contours, and by lettering inside to show "hills".

(*d*) *Seringapatam.*[11] Although this map has similar cartographical

[7] 16.7 N.-73-55 E.; S. of 1.47 H/15; About 40 miles S. W. of Kolhapur.

[8] *Devanagari* lettering seems to have been increasingly used in the later Maratha period. This fact itself might form one of the clues in dating the maps, eg. the Vijayadurg Taluka Map in the Poona Collection.

[9] Although these traditional measurements differ from place to place, the *Maharashtra Shabda Kosha* (Vol. 3, p. 923; Vol. 2, p. 808) equates *Hath* with a *Gaj* and gives its distance as about 2 feet; 4,000 *Haths* make a *Kosa,* about 2 miles.

[10] Janjira (18.18 N.-73.0 E.; S. of I. map 47 H), coastal fort, 50 miles south of Bombay; scene of frequent Maratha attacks on its Siddi ruler. Badāmi (15.55 N.-75.45 E; S. of I. map 47 P/9) ancient Chalukyan capital, an important Maratha fort in the latter half of the 18th century.

[11] 12.26 N.-76.43 E.; S. of I. map 57 D/11, the well known capital of Tipu Sultan, figures prominently in Maratha records. It is possible that this map was prepared on the eve of the campaigns of the three allies against Tipu.

features, it is an interesting example of maps that could be dated by means of internal evidence itself. The map shows the Seringapatam fort and the Kaveri channels as well as the canals, all of which are drawn with surprising accuracy. The temples of Ranganath and Narasimha are correctly placed; so is the mosque. A good deal of attention is paid to major buildings: houses of the Raja of Karrapatan, Dalwai Nanjraj and Purnaiya; Meer Sadak figures prominently with his *Katcheri* and his mansion.[12] Outside the fort limits, the Darya Doulat Garden is shown. This therefore appears to be a map of the post-Haider and pre-British period in Mysore, when the Marathas were engaged in wars with Tipu.

Area Maps

In quite a different category stand the maps which show larger areas. These represent parts of the Deccan Peninsula which had drawn the attention of the Marathas at one time or the other during the phase of feudal expansion. The following maps were examined at the Museum: the Gujarat-Kathiawar (15.434), the Bhima-Malaprabha (15.424), the Poona-Madras-Kaveri Delta (*), the Hyderabad (15.431), and the West Coast-Krishna-Tungabhadra (15.426).

(*a*) *The Gujarat-Kathiawar.* In this map, the common features of Eastern orientation, *Modi* lettering, and compass directions on the edge, persist. The map covers the Gujarat and Kathiawar regions, but the shape of the Kathiawar Peninsula is much distorted; similarly, major rivers are shown, but crudely in double lines. Strangely, the sea along the Kathiawar coast, too, is shown by two parallel lines as though it was a river. Relief features even of a major character such as the Girnar Hills, receive no mention, but the Rann is shown in its area by a rectangle and lettering within. Routes are not shown. The chief interest of the map lies in the multitude of place names it embodies. Lettering is proportionate to the importance of the place. Larger towns and cities like Ahmedabad, Broach, and Surat are inscribed in bold letters and 'boxed' in thick lines. Smaller towns, mostly seats of *Prants* and *Paraganas,* receive a differential lettering according to their administrative status, each carrying with it a suffix of *Prant* or *Paragana* as the case may be.[13] The position of these

[12] Meer Sadak, appointed Subedar of Arcot City by Haider in 1780, rose to prominence under Tipu only by 1798, and the date of this map therefore could be placed somewhere near to this year, that is on the eve of the 1799 military operations against Tipu. *See* Shamrao, M., *Modern Mysore* (Bangalore, 1936) Vol. 1, p. 172 ff.

[13] Most of the political maps indicate the relative status of each village, the Vijayadurg Taluka map, in the Poona Collection, shows the status of villages with prefixes and suffixes like *Moujé, Majaré, Vādā, Ghérā, Péth,* etc.

places is generally correct in so far as they are indicated by letters, but there is no 'pin-pointing' by means of dots. There is no statement of scale, but a calculation of the distance between Ahmedabad town and the tip of the Cambay Gulf shows the scale to be 1" to 5 miles approximately.

What must have been the main purpose for which this map was drawn? An overall consideration of its features points to the inference that this is a political map of a feudal power which depended more on its hierarchy of officials, than on the territories it governed. Clearly the boundaries of *Prants* and *Paraganas* were not so important as the officers-in-charge themselves. In practice, therefore, the territories and their limits hardly mattered, the administrative headquarters of *Prants* and *Paraganas* were worth knowing, and the owner of this map was evidently interested in the location of these administrative centres.[14]

(*b*) *The Bhima-Malaprabha.* This is merely a black and white sketch map showing the river system of this tract shown with a fair amount of accuracy. The map also indicates names of the places in which the Marathas were interested. The rivers shown are the Bhima, Nira, Krishna, Koyna, Varna, Panchaganga, Ghataprabha and Malaprabha. There are no hill features. Places that are situated mostly along the rivers are shown, but the information is so scanty and sporadic that it is not easy to gauge the purpose of this map. Possibly this was a route map indicating the valley routes in the Maratha campaigns.

(*c*) *The Poona-Madras-Kaveri delta.* This one covers a large area from the Konkan to North Kanara on West Coast to Madras and Tanjore on the East Coast. In the peninsular interior the drainage area of the Krishna and Tungabhadra receives a more detailed attention. Important towns like Poona are boldly written in, and so are places of religious sanctity like Mahabaleshwar, Gokarn, Shree Shaila and Shree Rangam. Strings of place names occur spreading outwards from Poona in the direction of Hyderabad and Karnatak, and the distances between these places are shown in *Kosas.* An interesting feature of this map is its distinct preference to two regions: one around Hyderabad and the other of the Kaveri delta. In both these regions, there is a crowding of place names while other regions carry a limited number of place names. Madras is placed a little further to the north of its actual position and the lettering shows that it has been only incidentally noted in the map. The map is thus fairly eloquent in the purpose it serves: it is a route map intended for operations in

[14] In the Maratha feudal organisation, an important distinction used to be made between the hereditary *Watandar* officers like the *Desais* and *Deshmukhs* and the higher political office holders like the *Subedars.* The territories of the *Watandars* were regarded as inviolable and were recognised as such even in treaties where boundaries between the belligerents had to be settled and demarcated.

Hyderabad, Mysore and Kaveri regions, where the Marathas were interested in the middle of the eighteenth century. It should be possible to date this map more precisely by studying the place names in greater detail against the background of the Maratha campaign in the south.

(*d*) *The Hyderabad.* This map is generally similar to the one mentioned above, but the lettering is in *Devanagari.* It is a route map showing villages.

(*e*) *The West Coast and Krishna-Tungabhadra.* This map is interesting in several ways. Unlike the other maps, it is oriented to the West. It has a much better cartographical presentation. Hills are shown in purple ; rivers in blue ; place names in red circles, the more important of them carrying a double circle. Forts are more boldly shown in red circles. Vegetation is pictorially shown in green. A peculiar feature of this map is the distortion of the North Kanara Coastal tract ; from Karwar 'downwards' the coastline is turned to the south. And obviously there has been a contraction of the forested Ghat tracts between the Kanara Coastal strip and the open country of the Karnatak plateau. The scale of this map works out to about 2″ to a mile. This large map of decorative nature seems to be mainly intended for understanding locations, and for no other purpose. The cartographical technique is indicative of the late eighteenth century influences.

Concluding Observations

Although no generalisations could be made from this brief and rapid survey, it is pertinent to draw attention to the twofold value of such a study. Maratha maps might be usefully examined (*i*) to study the history of Maratha cartography, and (*ii*) to assess their value as a source material on Maratha History.

The problem of tracing the history of Maratha cartography essentially centres round the question of discovering maps from all the available Maratha records, systematically cataloguing them, and developing a technique for dating them.[15] Even a cursory survey of the available material reveals that there exists a difference in the technique employed in the early Maratha maps and those of the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries. The evolution of cartography can be studied not only against the background of the written documents with which a map may be found

[15] It would be very useful if research workers and institutions were to report the maps they come across to a central authority like the National Archives of India, and if, on the basis of such communications, hand-lists were issued for promoting this line of research.

and in the context of the written text on the margins of a map, but also with the help of internal evidence as well. The maps so far examined have not revealed their association with written records. Only one, an early nineteenth century map in the Poona Collection, carries a fairly detailed explanatory note in the margin.[16] It is therefore mainly to the internal evidence that the student must turn his attention, and here luckily the field promises to be as interesting as a piece of detection made so familiar to us by English detective story tellers. Calligraphy could be studied and compared with the written records of different periods. An attempt could be made, as epigraphists do, to study the evolution of the *Modi* and the *Balbodh* (the more familiar term for *Devanagari* in Maharashtra) scripts, as seen in Maratha records. Place names, technical terms, diction, all these employed within the body of a map would undoubtedly yield some clues in dating it. Most of these maps almost 'speak out' the purpose for which they were drawn, and a closer study of the areas that have received detailed and selective attention at the hands of the map-maker, as for example, in the Poona-Madras-Kaveri Delta map, is likely to be corroborated by the written records of a period ; the map would thus divulge its approximate date. In this manner, it should be possible to judge how much of the Maratha map-making was purely indigenous contribution, and how much of it was influenced by the growing Maratha contacts with other political powers. Maps from the Hyderabad records tend to show the influence of the Persian script, while most of the Bombay and Poona collections are evidently influenced by the English and the Portuguese maps.[17]

Besides the main aspect of studying the history of Maratha maps, there are at least two striking posers which a student of history and cartography must try to answer: Why are the Maratha maps 'oriented' to the East and secondly, was the Maratha feudalism in any manner responsible for the apparently indifferent state of the Maratha maps? A comparative study of the maps of the Islamic powers in India might furnish a possible clue.

In evaluating Maratha maps as a source material for Maratha history, it is known that maps of forts and plans of battle-fields have been frequently utilised by research workers. It would be interesting to concentrate our

[16] This is the Vijayadurg Taluka map, already referred to. The marginal notes explain the colouring scheme for the purposes of demarcating the villages belonging to the Vishalgad and Bavada Jagirdars.

[17] The Hyderabad Collection still awaits examination. The Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala has recently acquired photo-prints of some maps. Kale in his paper draws attention to the unhappy influence exerted by the European maps on the Maratha maps. A more detailed study is, however, necessary to arrive at a conclusion.

attention now to area maps, and judge how far did the geographical ideas of Maratha rulers influence their policy and campaigns. How far, for example, was the user of the West Coast-Krishna-Tungabhadra map influenced by the notion that the Kanara Coast was in the south? A map virtually is a precise summary of the prevailing geographical notions, and it is not unlikely that a knowledge of these might offer a clearer picture of the many facets of Maratha policies, campaigns, and treaty settlements.

C. D. Deshpande

INDIA AND CEYLON IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

MISSIONARY archives are not always thought of as source materials important for the student of secular as well as religious history. It is the purpose of this paper to indicate some of the kinds of information relating to India which may be found in the printed and manuscript records of one American Christian missionary society.

On June 17, 1812, one hundred and seventeen days out of Salem, Massachusetts, the brigantine *Caravan* arrived at the port of Calcutta, carrying among its passengers the first American missionaries to go to any foreign land. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which was supporting them, had come into being in 1810 in response to their demands. Its formation "marked the entrance of the Protestantism of the United States in any large way into participation in the spread of Christianity outside of the confines of the country."[1]

Organized by the Congregational Association of Massachusetts, the Board throughout its history has represented the world outreach of the Congregational churches of the United States. For varying periods of time in the nineteenth century it also served as the foreign mission agency of the Presbyterian Assembly and of the Dutch Reformed churches. From its headquarters in Boston this Board has now for one hundred and forty-three years sent missionaries abroad. The accumulated records of its and their activities run to some half a million manuscripts, 5,000 printed volumes, 15,000 pamphlets, 15,000 photographs and 300 daguerreotypes.

Because of the value of the collection to students and investigators in many fields an arrangement was made in 1941 whereby, although ownership and control remain with the American Board, the bulk of the historical material is deposited in the Harvard College Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts); some items of special interest to the Andover-Newton Theological School (Newton Centre, Massachusetts) are on permanent loan there. Manuscripts are preserved in the Treasure Room (Houghton Library) of the Harvard College Library, which also keeps all volumes of great rarity or of considerable monetary value or both. Other books and periodicals are assigned to their proper places in the Harvard classification. Seven hundred Bibles in foreign languages, many of which were translated

[1] Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York, 1937-1945), IV, 79.

by Andover graduates, three hundred daguerreotypes, and three thousand curios are in the Andover-Newton Theological Library.

The Board Library at 14 Beacon Street, Boston 8, retains complete sets of official publications of the Board (most of which are duplicated at Harvard), a collection of historical and critical material on the work of the Board, much of the biographical material (with the exception of letters and diaries), a large proportion of the fifteen thousand pamphlets, the photographs, and a working collection of contemporary literature relative to its fields of special interest. Two classes of manuscripts have been withheld from deposit at Harvard: the Minutes of the Prudential Committee (the executive body of the Board), and most of the records of the Treasury Department. All correspondence is allowed to accumulate in the Board offices for ten years before being sent to Houghton.

The printed material deposited at both Harvard and Andover-Newton is represented in the Harvard catalogues ; Andover-Newton has a catalogue of the Bible collection. The American Board catalogue lists the printed material at 14 Beacon Street as well as in the two depositories and is more detailed from the subject and analytic point of view than the others.

The contents of the bound volumes of correspondence and other manuscripts are not indexed or catalogued, but are indicated in a checklist, copies of which are available in the Houghton Library Reading Room and in the American Board Library. A sample of the checklist follows:

ABC: 16. 1. 1 *Marathi Mission*

v.1 Bombay mission previous to Sept. 1824. v.1 Joint communications.
2.1 ......v.2. Hall notes.
v.3 ......v.3. Newell, Nichols (etc)
v.4 Bombay and Ceylon. Sept. 1824-Sept. 1831.
v.5-6 Mahrattas, 1831-1837. pt. 1.
v.7 ......pt. 2.
v.8 Marathi mission, 1838-1844. v.1. Bombay.
v.9 Mahrattas, 1838-1844. v.2. Ahmednagar.
v.10 Mahratta missions, 1844-1859. v.1.
v.11 ......, v.2.
v.12 ......, v.3.
v.13 ......, 1860-1871 v.1.
v.14 ......, v.2.
v.15 Marathi mission, 1871-1880 Letters.
v.16 ......, v.2 Letters.
v.17 ......, 1880-1890 v.1. Reports etc. & Letters.
v.18 ......, v.2. Letters.

v.19 ......, v.3. Letters.
v.20 ......, 1890-1899 v.1. Documents.
v.21 ......, v.2. Letters A-B.
v.22 ......, v.3. Letters F-H.
v.23 ......, v.4. Letters H-R.
v.24 ......, v.5. Letters S-W.
v.25 ......, 1900-1909. v.1. Documents.
v.26 ......, v.2. Documents & Letters A.
v.27 ......, v.3. Letters B
v.28 ......, v.4. Letters C-G.
v.29 ......, v.5. Letters H-E.
v.30 ......, v.6. Letters L.
v.31 ......, v.7. Letters M-Z.

All the correspondence from abroad is arranged according to this pattern. The volumes marked "Letters" are arranged alphabetically by the name of the correspondent. This is the portion of the archives which is of greatest interest to the student of history.

The domestic correspondence is much more difficult to use since its arrangement is strictly chronological by the day. However, the amount of the material in this section of the papers which would have any bearing on Indian history would probably be small.

The attention of the American Board was probably directed first to India by the compelling interest of one of the missionary volunteers. However, the decision of the Prudential Committee was that the missionaries should work not in India, but in Burma, as beyond "the proper province of the British Missionary Society" and also, at that time, beyond the province of the East India Company.

Discovery, upon arrival in Calcutta, of extremely unsettled conditions in Burma dictated the reversal of this decision. Several years of uncertainty followed, due to the attitude of the East India Company, and complications attendant on the involvement of England and the United States as antagonists in the War of 1812. The correspondence of these early years furnishes a sample of the kind of political comment to be found in missionary writings. Interesting sidelights are thrown on government and missionary, on the policies of the East India Company, and on New England attitudes to the War of 1812.

While they were waiting for permission to remain (finally granted November 1815), the missionaries began work. The areas and periods of American Board work in India and Ceylon are;

Bombay Province 1813 to date. American Marathi mission. Beginning in Bombay City work moved out into the surrounding territory with centres in Ahmednagar, Vadala, and Sholapur.

Jaffna peninsula, Ceylon 1816 to date. American Ceylon mission.

Madras Province 1834 to date. American Madura mission. Localized in the vicinity of Madura. Between 1836 and 1866 a printing establishment was operated in Madras. A mission in Arcot, now under the direction of the Reformed Church in America, was an American Board project from 1851 to 1857.

Union work. There is, at present, participation in union work in Madras, Vellore, Bangalore, and Nagpur.

To the above-mentioned localities six hundred and twenty-eight missionaries were sent by the Board between 1812 and 1953. Some of them were there for a very short time. The death rate was abnormally high during the early period, and resignations for health or family reasons were frequent, but enough missionaries remained to transmit a vast amount of correspondence in the course of their collective residence of one hundred and forty-one years in India. There are 199 bound volumes of manuscript letters, reports, etc. running from 1812 through 1939, and comprising approximately 37,800 pieces. The accumulation is continuous, and is periodically screened, arranged and bound for permanent preservation.

Selected letters from the foreign correspondence and occasional journals of missionary tours were published in the *Panoplist* until 1817, after that in the *Missionary Herald,* the official monthly magazine of the Board. This publication policy is especially noticeable in the volumes for the first three quarters of the nineteenth century. However, only a fraction of the letters could be printed and in their printed form they were usually abridged.

Obviously and primarily these archives contain source material for the history of the Board's work in India and, as a corollary, for the history of Christianity there. Reasons for the particular character and course of development of the Indian church in three very different areas emerge more clearly from the tremendous detail of the correspondence and reports. Ample documentation is provided for the successes and failures of many and varying experiments. The appearance and recently greatly accelerated growth of Indian leadership are described. Supplementary material is found in periodicals such as the bi-lingual *Dnyanodaya,* first published in Ahmednagar in 1842 and continuing to date. In addition to Christian apologetics it printed comments on current events. In the 1850s, at least, it endeavoured to keep track of papers, pamphlets and books issued by the Marathi press of Bombay, and to print in its pages translations of articles

revealing indigenous attitudes and opinions. Its translations from Marathi were often copied in English papers and translations from English in Marathi papers. For the more recent history of the church additional points of view can be garnered from the publications of the churches themselves, of such organizations as the National Christian Council, and of Christian journals like the (Madras) *Guardian*.

Along with comments on religious matters the missionaries inevitably included impressions and reports on the political, economic and social environments. In their attempts to create a self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating church, in the expression of their religious commitment to service through education, medicine, agriculture or whatever appeared likely to relieve a need, the missionaries became deeply involved in many aspects of the life about them. The form taken by any activity and its later development are dictated in part by local conditions. Consequently there is a vast amount of detail, not only on the physical environment, complicated as it was by recurrent droughts, famines and plagues, but on the human environment, and the changes that came about in the course of more than a century.

Although the India papers of the American Board remain largely unexplored so far it is doubtful whether the unique interest attaches to them that attaches to correspondence received from areas, the history of which is less fully documented elsewhere. The Micronesia archives, for example, are among the few 19th century sources of information on those islands. Full coverage from a different angle than that found elsewhere is given to certain historical events and circumstances in China and Near East. The India archives probably do little more than corroborate the history recorded in English and Indian sources; they furnish a running commentary, with illustrations from life on the Indian scene from the days of the East India Company through the period of Crown rule to Indian independence.

MARY ALDEN WALKER

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S FINANCIAL RECORDS

AMONG the riches of the English East India Company's records in London and in India, the manuscripts which have received least attention from both historians and archivists are the financial ledgers and journals. What is said here is primarily intended as an indication of the ways in which this vast treasure-house may be used to illumine the economic history of India, and indeed of all southern Asia, especially in the eighteenth century.[1] These observations are based upon examples taken chiefly from the home ledgers and journals and the Madras ledgers and journals. The writer has not yet worked extensively with the Bombay and Bengal books of accounts. It should be emphasized that no one investigator can hope to compass more than a small fraction of the material available in this class of the Company's records. In London, the home general ledgers and journals are available from 1644—1858, and the Bengal, Madras; and Bombay books from *c.* 1702—1858.[2] The greater part of this type of record received from India is duplicated in India and may be found at the National Archives or the Madras or Bombay Record Offices.[3]

The vast bulk of the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay ledgers and journals alone—no less than thirteen hundred huge volumes—gives some idea of the prodigious amount of clerical work represented, much of it done by Indian clerks as well as by the young "writers" sent out to India from Britain in their 'teens. Even so, the surviving financial records were but a portion of the whole. For the most part, the accounts of the "subordinate factories" in India (*e.g.* Calicut, Ingeram, Vizagapatam) have long since fallen victims to damp and insects. Their loss, deplorable as it is from the point of view of Indian local economic history, is far less serious than the destruction (because their importance was not realized in the early nineteenth century) of the Company's "calico", "drug", and "tea" ledgers. During the Company's commercial period (*i.e.* pre-1833), all homeward cargoes were brought to account in these ledgers. The modern

[1] These records are likewise of great importance for European economic history, but much of the economic data they contain about Europe is available in other European sources.

[2] Sir William Foster, in his *Guide to the India Office Records*, London 1919, mentions these records under the heading "accounts" but does not describe them, see pp. 32, 60, 80, 89.

[3] While in Madras as a Visiting Lecturer on History at the University of Madras on a "Fulbright" grant, the writer examined the Madras books with the helpful guidance of Dr. Baliga and his staff; lack of time unfortunately prevented similar study at New Delhi and Bombay.

investigator is thus greatly hampered in his efforts to ascertain accurately the Company's condition at any given time. The whole mechanism of the London "East India" sales is but imperfectly revealed. Moreover it is clear from the books that do survive that "calico", "drug", and "tea" ledgers often ran for years without being balanced. When necessary, the clerks in Leadenhall Street would transfer from these ledgers into the "general" ledgers which have survived large sums—occasionally as much as £1,000,000—which would be described as "advances" from the "calico", "drug", or "tea" ledgers.[4]

Because of difficulties of this kind, it is the specific, single entry which is likely to be of most value to the modern investigator, especially the Indian investigator wrestling with a problem of eighteenth or nineteenth century Indian economic history. For example, if he is working on the price level, comparison of invoiced values of items in homeward cargoes (*e.g.* raw silk, cotton yarn, various "piece goods") at different dates will be helpful. If he is working on the wage level, items showing the wages paid for "cooly hire", boat hire and numerous other forms of labour will provide him a basis for comparison with data from other sources. If he is working on problems of monetary values and exchange rates in Asian countries, items showing costs of silver and gold per ounce and rates of coinage and conversion into various currencies and moneys of account may well form the basis of his work. In the following pages, a brief exposition of the Company's book-keeping methods will be given, accompanied by indications of the pitfalls to be avoided, and by examples, chiefly drawn from the first half of the eighteenth century, illustrative of the uses to which the information gleaned from this type of record may be put.

The investigator, even if primarily concerned with India, must approach the Company's book-keeping from the London end. The apex of the system was in London, and to those who operated it "India" was the whole littoral of eastern Africa and southern Asia from the Cape of Good Hope to Canton. The master set of books in London consists of three series: each "general ledger" has a "general cash journal" and a "general commerce journal". The financial year was July 1-June 30 (not, be it noted, corresponding to the "trading-season" year, May 1-April 30 at Calcutta and Madras, August 1-July 31 at Bombay). All British "East India" trade, except the *outward* "private and privileged" trade of the commanders and officers of the East India ships, was brought to account

[4] *Home Gen. Comm. Journ.* 1714-20, f. 171, 30 June, 1717: "Sundry Accts. to Profit & Loss, £800,000, being so much supposed to be advanced on goods sold this year above prime cost, the said calico and drug books not being balanced."

through these books. This means that the "private and privileged" trade *homewards,* and the financial transactions between the Company and the owners of East India ships were passed through these books in a manner which places many a pitfall in the path of the modern investigator. Homeward "privilege" passed through the books in order to guarantee payment of customs and excise on such trade. It follows that the entries concerning it are not by themselves very illuminating, suffice merely to confuse, and must be supplemented by information from the surviving "private trade" ledgers in order to be useful. The items of transactions with ship-owners were a by-product of the system whereby in this period the Company chartered almost all its "Europe" ships of members of the so-called "shipping interest", many of whom were also stockholders in the Company. The result is a tangle of entries on both debit and credit sides of the general ledgers which are difficult to unravel. The owners charged the Company interest on freight and demurrage unpaid ; the Company charged the owners for "goods wanting" long after the invoice in question had been brought to account as if received in full. This obscures the real meaning of many ledger totals. Consequently both journals contain more pertinent data than the ledgers, the "cash" journal being of most interest to the student of the Company's affairs at home, and the "commerce" journal being of most interest to the student of Indian economic history.

The cash journal, with its entries of cash received and cash paid at the Company's London treasury month by month, will clearly answer such questions as: How much had the Company borrowed from the Bank of England? How much on bonds? How much on notes? How much was paid in dividends, interest, salaries and rents at home? What attempts were made to prevent smuggling? How and where were the Company's exports of silver, woollens and metals bought, and from whom? The commerce journal on the other hand, with its much more detailed entries, which were the consequence of shifting items from one heading to another, will answer such questions as: What were the invoiced values of the various types of piece goods sent to England from India? How do the amounts invested in them compare with amounts invested in "drugs" (the Company's term for all varieties of "India" goods other than piece goods, chinaware, or tea)?[5] When did the "Europe ships" call at the

[5] Tea and chinaware were classed as "drugs" until 30 April, 1717 when the series of separate "Tea and Chinaware" ledgers began. See *Home Gen. Ledg.* 1714-20, f. 54. Since "China" piece goods were not separated from "India" piece goods and continued to be brought to account in the "Calico Ledger", the task of separating India from China items in the commerce journals is not wholly simplified by the separation of tea and chinaware from "drugs".

smaller "India" ports and not take on their cargoes wholly at Calcutta, Madras or Bombay?

The value of the home commerce journals for the Indian investigator is further enhanced by the practice of drawing into them data condensed from the financial records of the Indian presidencies, which cleared their accounts with each other by charging such items (both debits and credits) to "Account Current London". The clerks in Leadenhall Street, when bringing the results to account in the general commerce journal, normally included a large amount of detail illustrative of conditions in India where the Company actually owned several country ships and was to a considerable extent a "country" trader as well as a "Europe" trader. The fact that the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay ledgers and journals were sent home at irregular intervals brought items of this type into the home commerce journals in a most erratic manner—often years after the transactions had occurred in India—thus strewing further pitfalls in the path of the modern investigator.

The Company's book-keeping methods at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay followed the pattern set in London. Just as the home ledgers and journals were a master set with respect to the three presidencies, so the ledgers and journals at each presidency were a master set with respect to its respective "subordinacies". Each subordinacy (*e.g.* the factories in Persia under Bombay ; Fort St. David under Madras ; Cassimbazar under Calcutta) was expected to transmit its books to its superior presidency ; the writers at the presidency were expected to transfer to the presidency-books data condensed from the subordinacies' books in the same manner that the clerks in London transferred analogous data into the home books. Items of a commercial character in the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay ledgers and journals are therefore similar to those in the home books except that every ledger has only one journal ; "cash" and "commerce" items were not separated as in London. Quite naturally, the items of greatest interest, from an Indian standpoint, are those concerned with the Company's political, as distinct from its trading, activities either in or out of India. Year by year the Company at the "presidency towns" must carefully itemize its assets and liabilities. Every entry concerning the "rents and revenues", the costs of its fortifications, the wages of its numerous Indian employees, has a possible interest for the student of Indian economic history, no less than the items exclusively concerned with the sale of its "Europe" goods and the collection of its "India" goods for shipment to Europe.

Let us first take for comparison two trading seasons fifteen years apart, 1715-16 and 1731-32. These seasons are chosen principally because the

items from all three Indian presidencies for each of these two seasons transferred to the home books appear together in the home general commerce journal of a few years later. Approaching the subject from an Indian point of view, let us see what the entries have to tell of the conditions at the presidencies in 1715-16. At "Fort William in Bengal", the "revenues", Rs. 30,911, were far below the administrative costs, Rs. 1,28,479 at Calcutta plus Rs. 22,500 at Cassimbazar. However, profits on the sale of "Europe" goods must have much more than covered administrative expense, for "advances" on such sales stood at Rs. 2,50,851 in Calcutta and Rs. 18,649 at Cassimbazar. Nevertheless, the Company must have been using approximately Rs. 3,00,000 of the local merchants' money to carry on their Bengal affairs, for the item for interest on loans stood at Rs. 30,464 for the season. It is also clear that the Company's activities as a "country" trader were quite extensive at this period. In that season the Bengal Council in their official capacities sent the *Des Bouverie,* one of the larger East Indiamen, to Surat and back. Her voyage netted the Bengal Treasury a profit of Rs. 58,235. The Council also charged off Rs. 6,293 to "wear and tear" on the *Cassimbazar, Mary Buoyer, London,* and *Marlborough,* four sloops owned by the Company, plying out of Calcutta on coastal voyages, chiefly to Madras. "Sundries" brought by the *Mary Buoyer* were entered at Rs. 44,953 for this season.[6]

The corresponding entries for the season 1731-32 make the considerable increase in the Company's activities in Bengal vividly apparent. The administrative charges at Fort William have reached Rs. 4,81,183, at Cassimbazar 32,486, at Dacca 5,628, at Jugdea 1,176. The item "revenues", significantly altered to read "revenues and consulage" has risen to Rs. 77,441. The item for "advances" on profits to be gained from the sale of Europe goods has risen to Rs. 3,98,904, indicating that increases in such profits have not kept pace with increases in administrative expense. There is, however, no item for "interest on money borrowed". Patna was credited with a profit of Rs. 15,474, a harbinger of the ever-increasing importance of its opium trade later in the century. The Company's own "country" sloops incurred "wear and tear" to the extent of Rs. 25,370, but it is by no means clear that the Company's activities as a "country" trader were increasing. The "profits on several voyages" were a mere Rs. 5,720, and other entries seem to show that the sloops spent most of their time carrying stores and provisions to and from Madras.[7]

The Madras figures for these two seasons reflect no increase

[6] *Home Gen. Comm. Journ.* 1714-20, f. 162, entries 31 May, 1717 from Bengal Books N. 1 May, 1715-30 April, 1716.

[7] *Home Gen. Comm. Journ.* 1731-34, f. 214, entries 30 Sept., 1733 from Bengal Books FF, 1 May, 1731-30 April, 1732.

comparable to that in Bengal. The item for "rents and revenues" at Fort St. George rose from pagodas 63,475 in 1715-16 to pagodas 66,256 in 1731-32. The yearly charges at Fort St. George dropped from pagodas 45,789 to pagodas 36,030, but the figures for the "subordinacies" show that they were an increasing burden to the Madras finances. The losses at Fort St. David rose from pagodas 735 to pagodas 13,436. Entries for the other "subordinacies" (all under pagodas 10,000) support other evidence that the Company's dwindling activities at these places were continued in order to foster the business of its servants as "country" traders. The figures for the Company's own "country" trading activities point to the same conclusion, namely that the Company's own ships were more and more concerned with transporting bullion, stores, and provisions from one "factory" to another rather than in conducting profitable "country" voyages on the Company's behalf. The brightest spot in the whole picture of the Company's local Madras finances appeared in the entries concerning profits on the sale of Europe goods and the coinage of silver at the Madras Mint. These entries were approximately the same at both dates (pagodas 54,000), but profits on silver coinage are especially mentioned in 1731-32 whereas the words "silver coinage" were not used at all in the corresponding entry in 1715-16.[8]

For Bombay, the figures for these two seasons show increased commercial prosperity, but the change is hardly as striking as in Bengal. During this period the Company ceased to keep its accounts in xerafins (reminiscent of the Portuguese era) and adopted the Bombay rupee for book-keeping purposes. Taking the xerafin as approximately a half-rupee, we find the administrative charges at Bombay in 1715-16 stood at Rs. 1,45,584, and the losses at the "subordinacies" were: at Anjengo Rs. 20,048, Calicut Rs. 37,336, Carwar Rs. 4,583, the factories in the Persian Gulf Rs. 19,941. In 1731-32, the charges at Bombay have remained the same, but the losses at the "subordinacies" have become nominal. The profits on the sale of Europe goods at Bombay have sharply risen from Rs. 42,818 to Rs. 1,29,862—almost enough to cover administrative charges. Other entries reflect the Company's excellent credit position in Bombay and its close relations with Parsi financiers. Of special interest is an item recording the transfer of a lakh of rupees from the Company's factory at Surat to the factory at Cassimbazar in September 1731. Unfortunately, details of the activity of the Company's "galleys" and other "country" vessels in the Arabian Sea are not given, but there are references to the

[8] *Home Gen. Comm. Journ.* 1714-20, f. 179, entries 31 Aug., 1717 from Madras Books O, 1 May, 1715-30 Apr., 1716; *ibid.*, 1731-34, f. 213, entries 30 Sept., 1733 from Madras Books FF, 1 May, 1731-30 April, 1732. The pagoda was normally valued at Rs. 3-8-0 in these accounts, (*i.e.* 350 rupees per 100 pagodas).

hiring of lascars through Parsi agents, and to two wholly owned "country" ships. Such evidence as there is appears to show a steady decline of the Company's activities in Persia where the factories incurred nothing but losses, often infrequently brought to account. Otherwise, the Company's affairs on the Malabar Coast were flourishing at this period.[9]

A glance at the detailed invoices in the home general commerce journals of the Company's cargoes to and from the three presidencies illustrates in another way the ever-increasing importance of Bengal. Here, Bengal and Madras figures must be considered together, for most of the silver destined for Bengal was landed and coined at the Madras Mint before being sent on to Calcutta, and the separate entries for each presidency often give a misleading impression of what actually happened. Taking the two sets of figures together, we find the invoiced value of outward cargoes to Calcutta and Madras to be: for 1715-16 £259,644; for 1731-32 £422,646. The corresponding figures for homeward cargoes from Calcutta and Madras were: for 1715-16 £122,200; for 1731-32 £424,033.[10]

The items making up each invoice naturally reveal more economic data for a comparison of conditions at the two presidencies fifteen years apart. The composition of outward cargoes arriving at Calcutta and Madras in 1715-16 is very similar. Let us examine the cargo of the *Darby*, 470 tons, outward bound in the winter of 1714-15 for Calcutta:[11]

Lead 400 cwt. at 11s. 3d. per cwt.	£ 225
Stockholm Iron 800 cwt., £14.17.0 per ton	594
Broadcloth 223 bales	8033
Perpetuanoes 5 bales	305
Stuffs 14 bales	821
General Merchandise	842
Silver, 60 chests French crowns 209, 280 oz. at 5s. 5½d. per oz.	57116
Charges Merchandise	339
	£68277

[9] *Home Gen. Comm. Journ.* 1714-20 f. 186, entries of 30 Nov., 1717 from Bombay Books O, 1 Aug., 1715-31 July, 1716; *ibid.*, 1731-34, f. 215, entries of 30 Sept., 1733, from Bombay Books FF, 1 Aug., 1731-31 July, 1732. Losses of "Isphahan Factory for 9 years and several charges" in Persia were charged off in 1732 at Rs. 3,05,266.

[10] *Home Gen. Comm. Journ.* 1714-20 and 1731-34; figures for cargoes to and from Calcutta and Madras in the two seasons concerned. In the home books, the rupee is valued at 2*s.* 6*d.*, and the pagoda 9*s.* at this period.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1714-20, f. 16, 31 Jan., 1715.

The cargo of the *Heathcote,* 430 tons, consigned to Madras at the same time was precisely similar:[12]

Lead 2003 cwt. at 1.1s. 3d. per cwt.	...	...	£ 1127
Iron 400 cwt., £14.17.0 per ton ...	...	...	297
Broadcloth 330 bales ...	...	...	12820
Perpetuanoes 20 bales ...	...	...	995
General Merchandise ...	...	...	2105
Silver: 21 chests pillar dollars	...	73248	
9 " quarters ...	...	31392	
5 " crusadoes ...	...	17440	
33 " Fr. crowns ...	...	115104	
68		oz. 237184	
at 5s. 5½d. per oz. ...	...	...	64731
Charges Merchandise ...	...	...	410
			£82487

Sixteen seasons later, the most significant change in outward cargoes to Calcutta and Madras is that the silver in the Bengal ships was all directly invoiced to Madras for coining, and copper has appeared as a regular outward item to both presidencies. For example, the *Prince of Orange* carried, invoiced to Madras, (but destined for Calcutta):[13]

Silver 60 chests, dollars Mex. ...	...	73248	
Fr. crowns ...	...	87200	
ducatoons ...	...	48832	
at 5s. 7d. per ounce		oz. 209829	£58577

In addition to a complement of metals and broadcloth (similar to that of the *Darby* in 1715-16), she carried 34 tons of copper invoiced at £3983. The *Nassau's* cargo, destined wholly for Madras was exactly the same in character.[14]

A comparison of outward cargoes to Bombay in 1715-16 and 1731-32 shows no significant change except a drop in the amount of silver sent to Bombay, and the disappearance of Cornish tin from outward invoices. For example, the *Stanhope,* 420 tons, carried out 50 chests of silver (mostly French crowns) 174,400 ounces at 5s. 5½d. per ounce, £47596, in 1715-16.[15]

[12] *Loc. cit.*
[13] *Home Gen. Comm. Journ.* 1731-34, f. 137, 29 Feb., 1732.
[14] *Ibid.,* 1731-34, f. 132, 31 Dec., 1731.
[15] *Ibid.,* 1714-20, f. 34, 30 Apr., 1715.

In 1731-32, the *Marlborough* carried 30 chests of Spanish dollars, 104,640 oz. at 5s. 7d., £29,212.[16] The quantities of lead, iron, and broadcloth differ hardly at all from those sent to Calcutta and Madras at both dates. The total of invoiced cargoes to Bombay remained approximately the same £95,297 in 1715-16 and £90,837 in 1731-32.

For the homeward cargoes, the detailed entries would provide material for a study of the whole colourful kaleidoscope of Indian handicrafts in the eighteenth century—page after page of entries showing every variety of piece goods exported to Europe. For examples of typical cargoes shipped at Calcutta and Madras in 1715-16, let us take those of the *Heathcote,* 430 tons, invoiced at Calcutta in January 1716, and the *Des Bouverie,* 450 tons, invoiced at Madras at the same time. The *Heathcote* carried home to be brought to account in the "calico" ledger piece goods purchased for Rs. 3,89,443 (£48,680). Typical entries among them were:

14,155 pieces	cossaes	... ...	Rs. 92238
21,020 „	gurrahs	... ...	40237
2,268 „	photaes	... ...	5482

The balance of her cargo, invoiced at Rs. 109,419 (£12,644) consisted of "drugs", under which heading 119 bales of Bengal raw silk were by far the most important item, Rs. 74,569. Other significant items were:

Shellac	140 chests	374 cwt.	... ...	Rs. 7285
Stick-lac	11 „	29 „	... ...	220
Tincall	20 casks	268 „	... ...	3509
Cowries	157 bags	320 „	... ...	4426
Saltpetre	1032 bags	1382 „	... ...	8772
Turmeric	300 bags	301 „	... ...	815
Redwood		522 „	... ...	1560

The *Des Bouverie's* cargo from Madras was made up in a similar manner except that items of piece goods peculiar to the Madras region, and 64,350 lbs. of pepper were included. Of her total invoice, pagodas 114,959, piece goods account for pagodas 104,658.[17]

Cargoes from Calcutta and Madras sixteen years later were made up in the same manner. They show, however, a significant rise in prices: cossaes have risen from 6 rupees 8 annas a piece to 9 rupees 12 annas a piece; gurrahs from 1 rupee 14 annas to 2 rupees 12 annas; photaes from 2 rupees 7 annas to 3 rupees 7 annas, and saltpetre from 6 rupees 6 annas to 8 rupees 3 annas a cwt. The proportion of piece goods to "drugs" remained fairly constant; £45,249 of the £61,551 in the *Drake,* received in London 3 August, 1732, representing piece goods; the corresponding

[16] *Ibid.,* 1731-34, f. 139, 31 March, 1732.
[17] *Ibid.,* 1714-20, f. 108-109, 31 Aug., 1716.

figures for the *Cadogan* from Madras were £56,532 in piece goods out of a total cargo of £70,961.[18]

Homeward cargoes from Bombay, as might be expected, show the influence both of the coffee and of the pepper trade in the Arabian Sea. A typical cargo for the season 1715-16 is that of the *Queen*, invoiced from Bombay 14 January, 1716 and received in London 31 October, 1716. She carried no piece goods on the Company's account and the whole invoice of Rs. 53,540 was posted to the "drug" ledger:

Cowries 335 bags 1,000 cwt.	... ...	Rs.	19272
Pepper 146,700 lbs. loaded Bombay	... ...	„	22515
Carmania Wool 50 bales 22,400 lbs.	... ...	„	9006
Coffee 33 bales 81 cwt. ...	... ...	„	2746
Pepper 162,400 lbs. loaded Calicut	... ...	„	19183
Pepper 148,000 lbs. loaded Carwar	... ...	Pags.	6674

This cargo is interesting not only as an example of the import of cowries into Europe for use in the African slave trade but for the large amount of pepper carried direct to Europe from Calicut and Carwar.[19] Sixteen years later somewhat more than half of a Bombay homeward cargo was taken in piece goods peculiar to that side of India, and cotton yarn has appeared as an important item in such cargoes. For example, the *Oakham*, 480 tons, sailed homeward with a total invoice sterling value of £28,676, of which £15,342 was in piece goods. She also carried 28,896 lbs. of cotton yarn 111,556 lbs. of pepper loaded at Bombay, 462,000 lbs. of pepper loaded at Tellicherry, and 13,720 lbs. of cardamoms.[20]

Any conclusions from a comparison of only two trading seasons must be admittedly tentative, but enough has been said here to show how the vast mass of data in the home books may be profitably examined by students of India's economic history. By a similar comparison, we may illustrate the ways in which the books kept at the presidencies supplement this data and are of special value to the student of social conditions. Let us take the Madras ledgers and journals for the seasons 1718-19 and 1732-33, and consider first information primarily of interest to the social historian which supplements and amplifies the well known work of H. D. Love.[21]

Every variety of piece goods from the "Coast" had its separate ledger page—longcloth ordinary white, longcloth middling white, longcloth fine white, salampores, beteleas of 40 coveds, beteleas of 50 coveds, and so on,

[18] *Ibid.*, 1731-34, f. 162, 31 Aug. 1732; f. 146, 31 May, 1732, and other homeward invoices, *passim*.
[19] *Ibid.*, 1714-20, f. 121, 31 Oct., 1716.
[20] *Ibid.*, 1731-34, f. 163, 31 Aug., 1732.
[21] Love, H. D., *Vestiges of Old Madras* 1640-1800, 4 vols. (London, 1913).

entry after entry. A student familiar with the handicrafts of South India could piece together, after much patient labour, the whole story of the rise and fall of each item. There are data to show how many corges made a bale of each type, and what the Company paid for curing, washing, dyeing, and packing. At this period, the Madras Council dealt with each group of workers through one agent. Collection in 1718-19 was through "Sinca Rama and the Merchants"; in 1732-33, through "Tomby Chitty and the Merchants". Advances of large sums in pagodas were made in this way to merchants who, themselves, often supplemented these sums with loans to the Company, the whole business in this period approaching 370,000 pagodas a season. Similarly the Company dealt with "Moortee and the Washers", "Aiana and the Dyers", and thus with each class of labour used in providing its homeward cargoes.[22]

Entries concerning "country" ships would appear to show that during the interval between the seasons of 1718-19 and 1732-33, wages of European seamen and Eurasian gunners rose slightly while wages of Indian seamen remained unchanged. In each of these seasons there are journal entries which give the full payroll of a "country" ship. The monthly stipend of a captain rose from 16 pagodas to 18 pagodas 6 fanams, of a 1st mate from 10 pagodas to 12 pagodas, of a 2nd mate from 8 to 10, but the wages of a syrang remained at 5 pagodas a month, of a chief tindal 4, of a 2nd tindal 3, and of a lascar 2.[23] Even so, the difference between European and Indian wage scales was far less than what it became in more recent times. Although it has been customary to think of ship-building in India as not practised by Europeans until the 1770s, an entry of 30 November, 1718 shows that the Madras Council paid a European master-builder, mate and joiner for building the *Young Derby* at Fort St. David 3050 pagodas.[24]

The items in the Madras books concerning the subordinate factories and the Company's cargoes naturally greatly amplify those in the home books. If, for example, we take the Fort St. David page for 1718-19 and compare it with that for 1732-33, we see that the deficit of that factory has just about doubled and that the Company's commercial activity there has greatly lessened. In 1718-19, specie was constantly being sent to Fort St. David, both overland by relays of "gollah" peons and by sea by "country" ships, and even sometimes by calls of "Europe" ships. Piece goods were coming back to Madras by sea to the value of 70,000 pagodas. In 1732-33, the value of goods has dropped to 40,000 pagodas; calls by Europe ships are infrequent, and "country" ships' activity has decidedly

[22] *Madr. Gen. Ledg. and Journ.* 1718-19, and 1732-33, *passim.*
[23] *Madras Gen. Journ.*, 1718-19, f. 16; 1732-33 f. 118.
[24] *Ibid.*, 1718-19, f. 76; also Ledger, f. 9, entry "By Ship *Young Derby* for charges of building her" at Fort St. David.

dwindled. The corresponding pages for Vizagapatam tell a similar story.[25]

If we turn to the "Account Current London" pages for these two seasons, we see the Company's homeward and outward cargo position from a standpoint different from that in the home books. The increasing use of Madras as a transfer point for bullion destined for Bengal and goods collected in Bengal appear far more clearly than in the home books. In fact, the passing of Bengal items through the Madras books makes the Madras accounts constantly more difficult to interpret as the years of the eighteenth century progress. This is graphically demonstrated by the entries for "what sent to Bengal more than received from thence": pagodas 24,496 in 1718-19; pagodas 372,633 in 1732-33. Of the three homeward cargoes in 1718-19 invoiced at pagodas 477,113, approximately pagodas 185,500 was "Bengal goods"; of the three homeward cargoes in 1732-33 invoiced at pagodas 428,725, "Bengal goods" accounted for no less than pagodas 308,479. Of even more interest are the figures for money received into the Madras Treasury in return for bills of exchange drawn on the Court of Directors in London, pagodas 141,623 in 1718-19, pagodas 98,401 in 1732-33.[26] This shows the day of vigorous shaking of the "pagoda tree" had then by no means arrived. A study of the names on these bills suggests that, at the earlier date, most of the money represented profits in "country" trading. At the later date, so many bills were made payable to members of the Portuguese-Jewish community in London that more than half the total must have represented proceeds of sales of Italian coral shipped from Europe in "private trade" which could not find investment in diamonds for a return.[27] It is, of course, obvious that much careful study and computation are needed before conclusions from such figures could be ventured. Nevertheless, in 1718-19 the invoiced values of cargoes to Madras plus the proceeds of such bills of exchange exceeded invoiced values of cargoes from Madras by a sum only slightly less than those proceeds; in 1732-33 invoiced values to Madras plus bills of exchange exceeded invoiced values from Madras by a sum over three times as large as the total of bills of exchange drawn in Madras on the Company in London. This hardly suggests that there was then any excess of exports from Madras for which there was no equivalent import.

On the whole, what the Madras books reveal of the activities of the Madras Mint at both these dates support this conclusion. Not only was the coinage of silver well maintained, at Rs. 16,82,000 and Rs. 14,71,000

[25] *Madr. Gen. Ledg.* 1718-19, f. 9; 1732-33, f. 10.
[26] *Ibid.,* 1718-19, f. 50; 1732-33, f. 59.
[27] See especially *Madr. Gen. Journ.,* 1718-19, folios 42, 53 and 60; 1732-33, folios 61, 62, 104.

respectively, but, at the later date, activity in coining gold, of which there is very little trace in the 1718-19 books, has become significant. In 1732-33, "Gold Coinage" has a page all to itself, and the entries appear to reflect increasing imports of gold from the "eastward". The mintmaster then collected a duty of one-half of one per cent on 30,404 ounces of gold. As the 4,952 ounces which the *Windham* brought in from China on the Company's account yielded pagodas 34,024 when coined, over 200,000 pagodas' worth of gold must have entered Madras that season. The *Windham's* invoice shows phenomenal profits were made on other items from China. Camphor costing 800 pagodas sold for 2,400 pagodas; "China Root" costing 156 pagodas brought at "outcry" 539 pagodas.[28]

These are examples of the ways in which the home books, supplemented by the books of each presidency, may be used to throw light in many otherwise obscure corners of India's economic history in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Any investigator, Asian or European, whose interests range farther afield and are not mainly focussed on India may find the East India Company's financial records of value to him. It is obvious, not only that they supplement the considerable amount of material already published on the old China Trade, but that they are a possible basis for the study of particular commodities, and often lead into many fascinating by-paths in the Indian and Pacific oceans which are difficult to explore without their help. It should be possible, for example, further to elucidate from these records the whole history of coffee from the time that drink first became popular in Europe until the mid-nineteenth century.

The entries concerning the Mocha trade in the home commerce journals are especially detailed. For example, let us follow the *Nathaniel*, 250 tons, whose outward invoice to Mocha was entered 30 November, 1714 consigned to her commander Jonathan Negus, Henry Sheffield and George Cooke as supercargoes. She carried a total value of £14,150:

Broadcloth, 55 bales & 1 box various	£1840
Lead, 1044 slabs, 1401 cwt. at 11s. 3d.	788
Silver, 12 chests, Mex. pieces of eight 41,825 oz. at 5s. 5½d. per oz.	11414
Gen. Merch., 5 parcels scales & weights stationery ware 2 sieves 1 rudder	37
Charges Merch.	70

[28] *Madr. Gen. Ledg.*, 1718-19, f. 46; 1732-33 folios 18, 67-70; *Madr. Gen. Journ.*, 1732-33, monthly entries "mintmaster to rents and revenues" for custom on gold.

Under the system then prevailing she lay off Mocha during the trading period, and, in all probability, one of her supercargoes accompanied a local broker to the coffee mart at Beetelfackie. After loading her coffee and myrrh, she sailed for Bombay where she left 45 bales of her coffee, the portion of her silver not used, and the items of general merchandise unsold. She then carried home to be entered in the "Drug Ledger" 31 August, 1716 at £12,796, the Spanish dollar being valued at 5s.:

24 bales myrrh 82 cwt. $765	£ 191
1180 bales coffee 2785 cwt. $50,420	£12605

Some of the Company's transactions with her supercargoes appeared much later in an entry of 31 March, 1718 under the heading, "Voyage to Mocha to Sundry Accounts £2,145 being for commissions to supercargoes of the *Nathaniel*":

Henry Sheffield 2% commission on £28,240, the nett proceeds of the cargo	£564
for £16 disbursed at Bombay, and the profit on the cargo	381
George Cooke 2% as above	564
for the profit on the cargo	351
Captain Jonathan Negus 1% commission ...	282

Later entries show the amounts paid the supercargoes were substantially reduced as a penalty for the quantity of coffee found "wanting" at the sales.[29]

Another most informative set of Mocha entries at this period concern the outward cargo of the *Princess Anne,* 350 tons, which took on her silver at Cadiz in the winter of 1716-17, a most unusual proceeding. The value of the prime cost and charges of 120,000 Mexico pieces of eight put aboard by Messrs. Bradyl & Herne was £27,846. In order to pay for about half of this, it was necessary to draw upon the East India Company's broker in Madrid who in turn had to draw on George Clifford & Co. of Amsterdam, through whom the Company bought much of its silver for export. The entries show that a premium of 2¼-3% had to be offered to get pieces of eight, that brokerage rates varied from ½-¼%, that the cost of collecting and shipping 120,000 pieces of eight was in the neighbourhood of 7,000 pieces of eight, and that the negotiations involved occupied three and a half months. Among her "general merchandise", the *Princess Anne* carried scimitars and "hubble bubles" for the Arabian market. It is unfortunate that the commerce journal contains no entry of her homeward cargo, which would therefore have to be sought in the Bombay records.[30] Mocha entries in the early 1730s show that the Company was

[29] *Home Gen. Comm. Journ.,* 1714-20, folios 13, 110, 208.
[30] *Ibid.,* 1714-20, folios 129, 164.

more regularly keeping an agent at Mocha throughout the year and more frequently bringing Mocha returns to account through the Bombay books.

Entries which suggest attractive avenues of enquiry are those concerning the Company's sole remaining foothold in Indonesia, York Fort (renamed Marlborough in 1719 when rebuilt on a different site) near Benkulen in Sumatra, and the Company's sporadic voyages to Borneo and Madagascar. Entries concerned with the settlement at Benkulen support the body of other evidence that the establishment was riddled with corruption and was maintained at a heavy loss to the Company solely to benefit the private "country" trading of the Company's servants posted there. Unusually detailed statements for the seasons 1713-14 and 1714-15 show an outlay of 113,384 Spanish dollars in salaries and charges, offset by "gains" of only 25,050 Spanish dollars.[31] The situation at York Fort is graphically summed up in an entry dated 30 June, 1718: "£197,221 being what received less than consigned them (Benkulen) and for the Charges Extravagances and Frauds of that Factory from 22 July 1702, the time the Two Companies were united to the 30th April 1713, we having received no books from thence for the Major part of the said time."[32] Pepper and gold seem to have been the incentives for the undertaking of occasional voyages to Borneo in the early eighteenth century. The *Eagle* galley of 200 tons returned to London from Borneo 8 November, 1715 with 289,870 lbs. of black pepper, 2,204 lbs. of white pepper, and two "barrs" of gold containing 87 ounces valued at $1,250.[33] The motives for the *Hartford's* call at Madagascar in 1733-34 were probably a desire on the part of her crew to see how many of the European knick-knacks taken out on their "privilege" could be marketed there. The Company, however, ventured a large assortment of general merchandise including seven chests of "buckaneer guns".[34]

In these and many other ways, the East India Company's financial records reflect varied aspects of life throughout the vast area in which the Company traded for more than two centuries. It was natural that, with the riches of the "court books", "consultations", and "despatches" so apparent, those attempting to arrange and describe the Company's records during the last half-century should not have given the ledgers and journals more than cursory attention. They continue to present a challenging opportunity to both historian and archivist.

HOLDEN FURBER

[31] *Ibid.*, 1714-20, f. 188, 30 Nov., 1717.
[32] *Ibid.*, 1714-20, f. 234.
[33] *Ibid.*, 1714-20, f. 61.
[34] *Ibid.*, 1731-34, f. 217, 31 Oct., 1733.

TWO LETTER-BOOKS OF RICHARD BARWELL
1769-73

IN 1914 the Calcutta Historical Society began the publication in their periodical *Bengal Past and Present* of a series of Letter-books of Richard Barwell, best known as Warren Hastings's supporter on his Council during his struggles with Philip Francis and the other members of the hostile "Triumvirate". These books had been purchased for the Society some years before by some subscribers chief of whom were the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad and the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan. The publication was in sixteen parts contained in volumes VIII to XVIII of the periodical and comprized 615 letters, most of which were published in full. They are copies of the letters Barwell sent to England from 15 September 1765 until he left India at the end of 1780. There was, however, a gap in the series. Volume I of the books finished with a letter of 20 February 1770, and the next volume began with a letter of 16 February 1773, thus omitting an important stage of his career and of the history of Bengal which the letters illustrate so valuably. It is gratifying that the gap can now be filled. Two Letter-books of Richard Barwell have come to light in the possession of one of his descendants, Mrs. M. B. Barwell of Maidenhead Thicket, Berkshire, who has most generously expressed her willingness that they should be published. They are MS. volumes of foolscap size, bound in mottled boards with tooled calf backs, the first of which bears a label "Europe Letters." Their contents fill the gap in the series in the possession of the Calcutta Historical Society, since the first volume begins with letters dated 29-30 September 1770 by the first ships of the season next following February 1770 and the last letters of the second volume bear dates in March 1773, overlapping a little (the entries in these letter-books are not always in exact chronological order) with the first entries in the second of the Calcutta Historical Society's volumes. The correspondents are the same and subjects treated are continuous. A few pencil annotations added later are of the same kind as those in the rest of the correspondence.

The two volumes contain 118 letters in all. Barwell was a voluminous writer and space does not permit their reproduction in full, but an attempt has been made to print verbatim everything of public importance, while omitting the many repetitions which characterize the private correspondence of Company servants seeking to keep their English correspondents informed, and also (more regrettably) matter that is of purely personal importance to Barwell, his friends and family. His spelling, including that of Indian words, has been left untouched, but no attempt has been

made to reproduce his plentiful and erratic use of capitals. Contractions have been expanded in most cases, and punctuation (which is often completely lacking) has been added to make the sense clear.

LETTER-BOOK 1, 29 AUGUST 1770 TO 2 SEPTEMBER 1771

Letter 1. pp. 1-3.

R. Barwell to Thomas Rumbold[1] *; Calcutta, 29 August 1770.*

"I cannot pass the present opportunity without addressing a line to you that you may remain assured of my sincere wishes for success to crown your views, and that I shall be happy in seeing you return to India. I find your intention to do so is known to many, for it has been currently spoke of, and by some condemned. A man of your fortune and in the spring of life they say, is wrong not to enjoy those pleasures his native country affords, and if his ambition is to be gratified let him vye with the great characters he will find there. What truth may be in this, they ought to remember the publick scene they point to is a very different one to that you have hitherto been engaged in, and that it is attended with more anxieties and far less opportunities of serving your friends.

We have been making preparations to oppose a French invasion and if you could read the S[elect] C[ommittee] proceedings you would affirm we are fairly panick struck. Redoubts, Forts etc. Articles, the means of defence, have been multiplied and about Budge Budge. Mighty operations appear upon paper and are to be effected by the cautious manner in which the forces are at present disposed, in short the general (Sir Robert [Barker]) has given himself much trouble and has written a great deal. Whether it will do him honour in the eyes of military men I cannot judge—in mine he has great merit. A part of the Moratta army lays between the two rivers and it is said Suja Dowla is inclined to influence them to invade Bengall, that is after the reduction of the Rohillah country against which he points his resentment. The Moratta and Hydur Naig keep the gentlemen of Madras in apprehension. The Nizam is perfectly tranquil. General Coote arrived at Madrass some time last month. The Aurora with the Commission(er)s on board has not been heard of ; the gentlemen of Fort St. George and here seem little inclined to open the packets directed to them. I think they are wrong in this particular because they are now in the place of the Commissioners and I apprehend will be deemed culpable by the Company if they do not instantly enter on the execution

[1] Lately resigned from the Council in Bengal, later Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bart., Governor of Fort St. George.

of that part of the Commission relating to their presidencys. It is true the Court of Directors do not open the matter of the Commission to either of the Presidencys, but will this exculpate their Governors and Councils for not interesting themselves? The cause given for disgust is certainly great, but whilst we submit to serve we should act consonant to the duty we owe to our employers.

The Board has taken up the matter recommended in the Lapwing's letter and a Council of Revenue is appointed to Muxadavad and to Patna. I have had a principal share in this measure and I was induced to act the part I did from conviction that it would be beneficial to the publick interests and pleasing to the Company. In a short time I hope we shall attain a certain knowledge of the country and that the revenue will be greatly increased. The terrible depopulation occasioned by the severest famine ever felt in Bengall and the great decay of the manufactures called loudly for the effectual and expeditious remedy."

The letter concludes with news of friends among the Company's servants in Bengal.

Letter 2. pp. 3-9.
R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont[2] *; Calcutta, 30 August 1770.*

Chiefly on business and personal affairs, including an explanation of an apparent neglect of Barwell's uncle, Richard Barwell. "I have not even sufficient influence to interest the Nabob in the recovery of my outstanding ballances in Dinagepore and Purnea, but as a Council of Revenue is appointed and the mode of collecting will be on the most equitable footing the security of the Merchant will doubtless be considered: this has not been the case hitherto. The exactions of the harpies of Government have been such that the moneys adventured by traders for the purchase of any articles of commerce have been no sooner advanced than the recovery of the money or receipt of the goods became precarious . . . The Commissioners so long expected not being yet arrived I think there is little hope of our ever seeing them. The packets from the Directors to them are not opened for which I blame the Board as this willfull ignorance in which they choose to remain of the Company's intentions in sending Commissioners will doubtless draw upon them the censure of their employers. I have attempted to exculpate myself by recording my sentiments on the Consultations of the S[ecret] Department and I hope you will vindicate me to those who shall condemn the Council without distinction. Nothing has been said in the last letters from the

[2] Originally a free merchant and later a Company servant in Bengal. Now one of Barwell's Attorneys in England.

Company relative to the payment of the Restitution or the opening of the salt trade. I suppose all these matters are in the packets for the Commissioners. General Coote is arrived at Fort St. George and we expect him in Bengall the end of March next. The French force at Mauritius is very considerable. I heartily wish the Company would increase their military force in Europeans and, in proportion to the expence, decrease their Seapoy establishments." Current account of Beaumont with Barwell appended.

Letter 3. pp. 10-11.

R. Barwell to his uncle Richard Barwell; Calcutta, 31 August 1770.

Chiefly on personal and business matters, expressing hope that his uncle's displeasure has abated.

Letter 4. pp. 12-19.

R. Barwell to his brother Roger[3]; Calcutta, 24 August 1770.

Chiefly about Roger's business affairs in Bengal, where his agent William Barton has been remiss (a letter to him from Barwell on the subject is appended), and other business and family affairs consequent on the death of their father. "Your scheme of becoming a Director, could it be effected, would be more beneficial to your family than yourself and as your fortune is genteel and your turn of mind not extravagant it is an object worthy your pursuit".

General Bengal news as in previous letters. "All the fine expectations from hence of wealth will be terribly disappointed. The revenues have been so much anticipated as to be in arrears account the stipends to the Nabob and King etc. near 36 lacks. The sums paid in account Bills is 46 lacs. Nevertheless we are in the utmost distress to answer the current expenses and provide the Investment. Great villainies have been committed by the Sazzawalls, Aumins and Phowsdars. When the Directors get the account of their embezzlements they will be astonished. I think M. R. Cawn [Muhammed Rheza Khan] cannot long keep his station, for he has most certainly fatted on the oppressions through the country. When I last spoke to you about Station I said I should prefer Patna or the Durbar, but as Councils of Revenue are appointed to those places I wish for Dacca in preference." Discussing his intention of buying his late father's estate in Chertsey, Surrey, he suggests a mortgage as "I shall not then be under a necessity of appropriating a large sum to the purchase which would be inconvenient because I would have all moneys I can command

[3] Formerly a Company servant in Bengal. Returned to England in 1769 on grounds of health.

in the India funds to make a Director or two my hearty friends." Expresses a fear that he may wrongly be held responsible for malversations which have come to light in the Storekeeper's office, which he had begun to set in order during his short tenure of office there.

Letter 5. pp. 20-21.
R. Barwell to his eldest brother William ; Calcutta, 30 August 1770.

On the death of their father and the settlement of the estate. He protests strongly at a sale of stock at a loss in December 1769.

Letter 6. p. 22.
R. Barwell to [Miss Anne Keene] ; Calcutta, 30 August 1770.

With regard to money left on trust for her with Barwell, Leycester and Skinner by John Johnstone.

Letter 7. pp. 23-4.
R. Barwell to his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Barwell. n.d.

On the settlement of his father's estate. "As my fortunes greatly depend on the support of some one or two of the Directors you will confer a favor upon me by engaging what monies you can command in the India stocks and permitting my brother Roger to manage the same to obtain me friends in the Direction. And you may be convinced that if I find in England a proper support and my fortunes should answer my wishes that my brother and all my dear relations will be greatly advantaged by my prosperity, but should my circumstances be narrow, my designs must be less extensive in behalf of our numerous family."

Letter 8. pp. 24-28.
R. Barwell to a lady. n.d.

On his affairs of heart, including his wish to marry a Miss French, who preferred his friend William Lushington. His views on matrimony.

Letter 9. pp. 29-39.
R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont and Ralph Leycester[4] *[his attorneys] n.d.*

Private affairs, in particular the settlement of the estate of his father, William Barwell, with a copy of the Will and accounts. "As I should be glad to engage all the little property I have in England in the India stocks, when you bargain for the Chertsey farm, should it be agreeable to my brother, give a mortgage bond on the farm for the greater part of the purchase money. If this is not agreeable to him, I do suppose money

[4] Formerly a Company servant in Bengal.

is to be had on such good security at a reasonable rate and what sums you do so engage it is my request that it be laid out in India stock. If my brother Roger is in England you will favor me by asking his opinion, and I empower you, agreeably to any written directions you receive from him, to transfer the India stock I may be possessed of". And later "I have recommended already the purchase of India stock. The state of the Company's affairs in India, I apprehend, will lower the stock to 200 or to less—and the nearer we approach to a war I suppose the nearer will the stock fall to its just value, but be that as it may, I would have all my little fortune in the stocks".

Letter 10. pp. 39-41.

R. Barwell to Major Thomas Pearson[5] *; 3 September 1770.*

Tells of the non-arrival of the Commissioners and the debates about opening the packets addressed to them.

"The orders by the Lapwing have likewise been a source of disputation. Russell and Floyer have influenced Mr. Cartier to oppose the execution of them and by bringing into the S[elect] C[ommittee] all matters of the least importance rendered the Council, though a cypher, accountable for the acts of the S[elect] C[ommittee]. You know on what footing the Committee was put at the latter end of Mr. A's (?) government, yet the Madrass gentlemen did not scruple to heighten its consequence in opposition to their own sentiments on record (in Mr. Verelst's time). The Oath of Secrecy says to the Council in S[ecret] Department. "You shall not communicate any matter intrusted to you untill those are transmitted to the Court of Directors". Now my sentiments on what is transmitted to the Court of Directors you will find enclosed. I wrote them for the Council. They have been approved and are become that part of the Board's address relative to the subject of the Debate on the Company's orders. I desire you will be kind enough to assist me with your rhetorick in supporting my reasoning against the Madrasers, for as measures whether good or bad are equally justifiable when a party spirit prevails, I cannot depend that a propriety of conduct will recommend me to the party in opposition to the present Court of Directors. This is a consequence of that Machiavelian system adopted by the party leaders, pernicious when abilities are wanting to direct to its proper end the implicit obedience required . . .

We are in debt here up to the ears, so take care how you purchase India Stock. Three years at least are required to recover the Company from their present involved state and that with the best management.

[5] Formerly in the military service of the Company. Relinquished it in 1769.

I cannot conceive how Mr. Verelst came to be so much mistaken in the estimate of receipts and disbursements of the year ending April '70. I shall not be wanting on my part to give the most unexceptionable palliatives, but I very much fear the Madras gentlemen will not stand on punctilio."

Letter 11. pp. 41-48.

R. Barwell to Ralph Leycester; Calcutta, 2 September 1770.

The letter contains an account of recent affairs in Bengal. "I have mentioned the distressful circumstances in which I conceived the administration here would be involved, with how true and prophetick a spirit you will be enabled to determine from a view of our present state. The debt at interest on certificates for bills to be granted in November next is 50 lacks. This is an increase on the former debt at interest running on bonds not payable by bills. We are in debt to the King and to the Nabob etc. account their stipends 36 lacks. These two sums, 86 lacks, even are not sufficient to answer the demands of Government and I doubt not the new debt will be increased to 90 lacks. An Investment of about 60 lacs I flatter myself will go to Europe this season, and likewise that some means will be found to pay off the debt of 90 lacks in the space of two years, and send home Investments of 60 lacks yearly. This, however, will require management and a greater degree of attentions in the Council than the S[elect] Committee will be pleased with. Hitherto, that is in Verelst's government, the revenue remained a mystical business, and I am sorry to say that in Mr. Cartier's it would have been the same. Messrs. Russell and Floyer, swayed by their own interests, have influenced the Governor's judgement, as M. Raza Cawn has Mr. Beechers [Becher's]. The consequence of this was that, though Supervisors were appointed by the Board to inspect and regulate the Collections, the exercise of their authority was suspended from September to April (under pretext that it might injure the Collections should the Gentlemen interfere when the year was so far advanced) by a resolution of Council that they do not interfere with the officers of the Government, but obtain what information they can in that period, in order to be enabled to enter upon their charge at the commencement of the New Year. The New Year comes, alarms and apprehensions of a decrease of revenue are publickly talked of, the distress of the times are pleaded and a partial experiment of the Supervizing system is proposed. The following is [an] extract of a letter I received at the time. "M. R. Cawn is now busy in intrigue to weaken and injure the power of the Supervisors, and the Zemindars' people are apprehensive of being left to his mercy. This scene of artfull and

profound policy will soon discover itself. M.R.C. works upon Mr. Becher's fears and attempts to dupe him by raising alarms about the security of the future revenue from the reluctance of any aumils to take charge of it and the ignorance of the Supervisors. Mr. Becher in doubt and perplexity is about applying to the Council for orders regarding the Collectors and the authority of the Supervisors. M. R. Cawn has under-handedly influenced all the Zemindars to write arzees filled with excuses for the arrears incurred and calculated to throw blame upon the Supervisors either obliquely or directly. These are to be sent to Calcutta by M. R. Cawn's Agents, and the transaction is kept as secret as possible".

The proposal at first meets with objection; it is again urged and, though not a single argument is advanced in refutation of the reasons assigned for the objection, the objection is overruled, the plan adopted and the powers given by the Board to the Supervisors suspended. This is an act of the S[elect] Committee and without the Board's participation, although the supervising system was adopted by the Board and by the Board ordered to be carried into execution—a glaring instance of the powers assumed by the Committee to controul the resolutions of the Board".

Whilst this matter was in agitation in the S[elect] Committee the orders by the Lapwing were taken into consideration by the Council. The motion (which is in Mr. Reed's words) afforded a pretext to the S[elect] C[ommittee] to thunder out anathemas against all who would presume to question the authority of the S[elect]C[ommittee] and Mr. Russell, with his usual Jesuitical art attempted to give the proceedings of the Board the air of a contest for power, in which the interests of the Company were in no respect engaged. This I foresaw and told Mr. Reed of it at the time and wrote at the C[ouncil] table what ought in my opinion to have been the motion. Reed, however, presenting his words at the same time, Mr. Russell gave back mine and admitted Reed's as the most proper for the Committee to proceed upon. I did not think it necessary to insist upon what I had written being recorded, least it might have created a difference of opinion destructive to the end to be accomplished. I knew very well that if the S[elect] C[ommittee] did take up the matter in the manner I apprehended, that the Board must disclaim a design to question the authority of the S[elect] C[ommittee] and in that persuasion, for our next meeting drew up my sentiments in the following words introductory to the matter I wished to have discussed.

"The powers of the Board can in no respect be affected by the powers delegated to the S[elect] C[ommittee]. No more can the powers of the S[elect] C[ommittee] be affected by the powers delegated to the Board. The question then is, not what are the powers of the Select Committee

but how far every member of the Council is answerable to the Company for Orders addressed to the Council etc. etc." This necessarily brought our attention back to the object which ought to have engrossed it—and a few questions deduced from my minute fixed it to the point. The S[elect] C[ommittee] were disappointed in their aim: not a cavil was made or any notice taken of their proceedings. A disavowal of the intention attributed to the Council to annull the Committee was the only remark made by the Council, after which, the subject of importance was proceeded upon, and carried by a great majority. A board of Revenue was appointed to Muxadavad and another to Patna and, in short, all the orders of the Court relating to the collections were enforced. I cannot give you further particulars because I am restricted from writing and from speaking anything but what has been publickly talked of in Calcutta. Nevertheless, I should not chuse to have my name mentioned with any relation you may chuse to give from my letters—though I write merely what is known to the whole town.

The general letter from the S[ecret] Department of Council as far as relates to this matter is drawn up by me. The arguments on each side are referred to, and the sense of the parties as expressed in those arguments extracted with candor in the body of the letter. No conclusions are drawn and the whole submitted to the judgement of the Directors.

I hope from the measures that have been taken we shall shortly be competent judges what revenue this country will yield. I think there will be a great increase, although the country has been affected by so severe a famine that the loss of inhabitants cannot be computed at less than one sixth part of the whole that survived. The Commissioners who sailed in the Aurora I fear are lost. This apprehension has occasioned the meeting of a Council to deliberate on the propriety of opening the packets addressed to them. The sequel I acknowledge was very different from my expectations and, least the Council should be condemned for what they have not done I have frankly told them what I thought they ought to do . . .

Should you be connected with Mr. Sullivan [Sulivan] I shall esteem your promoting me to his regards a favor. The few votes my brother Roger can influence in our family may be 30, and I doubt not those will be at his command whenever he chuses to require them. . . ."

P.S. For Mr. Leycester's letter, 2 September 1770.

"The additions proposed to the Lapwing's letter from the Council in S[ecret] Dep[artment] have been objected to by the Select Committee. To overrule their objections I requested they would point out any part

of the proposed additions not supported by their own arguments on record and I would join them in condemning it as unfair and uncandid. Mr. Cartier said it is not any particular part but the whole. Mr. Russell that it was wrote with intent to vindicate the Board and arraign the conduct of the Committee, therefore unfair and uncandid. Mr. Floyer said he did not question but that the proposed additions were to be supported by matter on record, therefore the proposed additions were unnecessary. The proceedings of Council spoke plainly to the point and besides it appeared to him that the Council by their representation of the debate inclined to their own justification at the expense of the S[elect] Com[mitt]ee. I asked if the Committee had not applied to their absent members without informing the Board of such application, and whether they had not availed themselves by recording the opinions so obtained from gentlemen unacquainted with the proceedings of the Council and the Company's orders on which the Council proceeded and who could only judge upon the matter as it was taken up by the Select Committee, etc. To this a trivial reply was made without any meaning.

The affair however was far too important for the Council to pass over in general terms with a reference to the proceedings of the Board. You know, Leycester, many gentlemen in the Direction never read consultations and that bold assertions in such cases must have the force of truth with them. A party spirit has no other rule to direct it than the views of the party and nothing is right but what coincides with those views. This consideration influenced me to support the recital given by the Board with marginal notes and references to put it out of the power of the friends of the Madras gentlemen to insinuate ought (*sic*) that might weaken what was said, or create a doubt that the tale was fairly told. The Minority have said they will not sign the letter. If they do not, I believe it will be the first instance of a General letter from this Presidency not signed by the servants upon the spot and what the Directors will say upon it I cannot tell."

He described a dispute between himself and Russell in the course of the debate.

"I feel very much for Mr. Cartier, because I esteem him and I know he has been overpowered by persuasion. Mr. Russell [is] to all intents and purposes the Bute of Bengall."

Letter 12. pp. 49-51.

R. Barwell to R. Gamon; Calcutta, 10 September 1770.

With regard to sale of corals, by Van Sittart, Darell and Hollond.

Letter 13. pp. 52-53.
R. Barwell to Captain John Clements[6], n. d.

Thanking him for his interest, and expressing a desire to acknowledge the obligation by assisting his brother-in-law John Purling Junior... "Many changes have happened here since your departure. The orders by the Lapwing and the non-arrival of the Commissioners have agitated us not a little. Mr. Russell I very much suspect influenced Mr. Cartier to oppose the execution of the Company's intentions. I am led to this opinion by the following reasons. Russell certainly expects to be appointed Resident to the Durbar, and as a Council of Revenue must destroy the exorbitant power hitherto enjoyed by the Residents, it is natural to suppose a Council cannot be agreeable to him. Secondly, the opinion Mr. Cartier has taken up of Russell's understanding and the confidence he places in him, makes it too probable that he has listened to his suggestions, the fallacy of which might not strike him untill the matter was taken up by the Board and Mr. Cartier had engaged too far in promoting his views to recede. I really believe this to be the case, because Mr. Cartier is of too honest, easy and plain a nature to be a thing he thinks wrong...."

Letter 14. p. 53.
R. Barwell to his brother Roger, n. d.

Enclosing the above letter for Captain Clements and a letter, in the form of a P.S. for Major Pearson which he is to read and send on ... "When Captain Clements, brother-in-law to Purling, was in Bengall I cultivated his acquaintance and he promised to assist me in my views as much as lay in his power. His interest I could wish you to secure... Beaumont and Leycester will have this season 12,000 £ sterling of mine, which I have desired them to lay out in India Stock to be disposed of as you direct. My Unckle, Mr. Brown, my Mother, sisters and brothers if they engage will prove a respectable number of voters, and I trust my fortunes to your discretion."

P.S. To Major Thomas Pearson

Sending him, in continuation of his letter of 3rd, information of the debate on the additions proposed to the Lapwing's letter, in identical words to those in P.S. to letter No. 11.

Letter 15. p. 56.
R. Barwell to his sister Mary ; Calcutta, 31 September 1770.

A short letter to apologize for his late acknowledgement of hers of

[6] Captain of an East Indiaman.

4 and 5 December 1769 and 4 January 1770. Assures her that her letters reach him unopened.

"You know Messrs. Leycester and Beaumont are my attorneys. I purpose to join my brother Roger to those gentlemen. In the meantime I have desired them to lay out the little sum they have of mine in India Stock, and whatever my brother desires them to do with it they are to do..."

Letter 16. p. 57

R. Barwell to Captain Philip Affleck[7]*, n. d.*

Acknowledging his letter of 23 November 1769.

"I do not find your prophecy touching Lord Clive's Jagghire is as yet fulfilled and I understand the Lord balances a little to keep possession of it. The Company, I believe, will fare just as well whether the C[live] or the S[ulivan] Directors rule the roast. The servants in India only are affected by frequent changes, therefore I most heartily wish an end to the broils of my honourable masters. Sir John Lindsay since his arrival in India has differed with the Governors and Counsellors of Bombay and Fort St. George. I cannot give you any account of the cause of disagreement because I have not heard both sides of the question.

Governor Dupré and General Coote I likewise understand have their own opinions on their own consequence. The Governor I condemn for insisting on a punctilio when there was not the least occasion for it, and Coote for his too great warmth. Cause was certainly given for disgust, but then Coote should have expressed it with temper. He threatens to return to England immediately although a war with the Morattas is impending."

Letter 17. p. 58.

R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont; 13 September 1770.

Sending a box with preserved mangoes.

Letter 18. pp. 58-59.

R. Barwell to John Knott; Calcutta, 13 September 1770.

Expresses his hopes that Knott will return to India.

"Let us know when you think Rumbold will succeed. I pray to God he may baffle the views of the Jesuit Russell, who is at present our Bute, and has led his Honor Mr. Cartier into some mistakes. Cartier and Russell have both spoken in a manner of our friend Rumbold to convince me the

[7] Formerly in the Company's military service. Later one of the agents in England for the creditors of the Nawab of Arcot.

latter has poisoned the former's opinion by insinuating his own as the justest.

The Commissioners are no more, and as the S[elect] Com[mitt]ee would not, the Board have executed the Company's orders by the Lapwing. My brother Roger can give you particulars. We are much in debt and the Treasury is drained to the last farthing."

He writes of the disagreement between Governor Dupré and General Coote as in Letter 16. "General Coote's opinions appear to be supported by General Joseph Smith. The whole is a simple affair and I think might have been avoided by Governor Dupré. A war with the Moratta apprehended at Madrass in defence of our old acquaintance Hydur Naig, who has suffered much by the arms of Morrahrah. Bulwansing is dead. The news arrived here about eight days past. General Barker sallies from Calcutta in all haste, but what for, or what orders he may have from the Select Committee, I know not."

Letter 19. pp. 60-62.

R. Barwell to Russell Skinner[8] *; Calcutta, 13 September 1770.*

Enclosing a note from H. Grant respecting Skinner's money affairs. Would like Skinner's impressions on life in England. Then describes the influence Russell has gained over Governor Cartier. "But the Board (when the Commissioners were given up for lost) taking the Company's letter per Lapwing into consideration, and insisting the orders should be executed, have plunged Cartier into a difficulty which I conceive will not do him much credit, and I hope will occasion the remove of the Madras gentlemen back to Fort St. George......"

The differences of opinion between Dupré and Coote.

"A war with the Moorattah apprehended on the Coast. Our new friend and late enemy Hydar Naig has suffered much by his arms. The Mooratta took the field against Hydur as soon as we quitted him; this betrays the political maximum, make your enemies weaken themselves and conquer them when exhausted.

Bulwansing Raza of Bonaris is dead. The news arrived with us about eight days ago. I suppose Suja Dowla will move down to take possession of Bulwansing's Zemindarry."

Letter 20. pp. 62-64.

R. Barwell to John Charlton[9] *; Calcutta, 13 September 1770.*

Describes in a general way the situation between Russell and Cartier,

[8] Formerly Company servant in Bengal. Resigned in 1769.
[9] Formerly a Company servant in Bengal. Member of Council 1768-9.

the action of the Board on the Lapwing orders, and the difference of opinion between Dupré and Coote. He refers him to Leycester for details on India matters.

"By this you may have a general idea that we are not quite so tranquil in India as may be wished."

Letter 21. pp. 65-66.

R. Barwell to John Purling.[10] *n. d.*

Introducing himself to Purling, and expressing the hope that he will support him. Asks him to refer to the publick despatches to the Company for a full explanation of the affairs of the different Presidencies, which are too copious to discuss in a short letter. He mentions, however, the affair between Dupré and Coote, the attitude adopted by Sir John Lindsay. "You will be enabled to judge how far his views are compatible with the interests of the India Company," and the recent disputes on the Bengal Council.

Letter 22. pp. 67-68.

R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont; Calcutta, 27 October 1770.

Forwarding invoices respecting a sale of marble.

Letter 23. pp. 68-70.

R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont; Calcutta, 5 November 1770.

Replying to a letter of 23 March, referring to business matters.

"The Mansfield's packet has brought to us some extraordinary regulations. The Council is to consist of 10 Members, the Governor and Civilians and the Commander of the Troops, and all are to reside in Calcutta, excepting the Military Officer and one Counsellor at the Durbar. The Chiefships are all to be filled by the servants who are not included in the number nine (who compose the Council) and all offices are to be filled by servants under Council—but to be under the superintendence of the Members of the Board. The supernumerary members of the Board, though the Madrass gentlemen have shown an inclination to eject them, will sit by courtesy at the Board untill the pleasure of the Directors be known, as it is not customary at any of the Presidencies to reduce to private station any servant who has succeeded by course of service to a publick one, untill such succession, having been intimated to the Company, shall be disapproved by them. This not being the case, the supernumerary members continue while in Calcutta their seats at the Board, and will

[10] Director of the East India Company. Deputy Chairman 1770-1; Chairman 1771-2.

naturally have the benefit of the Regulation which keeps the nine nominated members by the Company in Calcutta.

I, who had expected from my station two or three years residence in Calcutta, am now in expectation of a chiefship, and hope to obtain Dacca, both on account of it's being a quiet and easy station, and because I am better acquainted with the country. Should I obtain it I shall mention it in P.S. and beg that you will be so kind as to use any interest you may have with a Director to have it continued to me even when I shall advance within the number nine.

A Council, since writing the above, has determined not to accept of our proffered services at the Board, alledging they do not think themselves authorised so to do. But the real reason I believe is this—the gentlemen of the Council did wish (it is beyond a doubt) to suspend the execution of the Company's orders, but at the same time was desirous of having the unanimous concurrence of the Board to countenance the measure. The most eligable (*sic*) mode to effect this was deemed to be a partial consideration of the Mansfield's letter and a question was going to be put in the following words. 'Shall the order for the reduction of the Council take place or not', but this was altered to 'shall the directions contained in the 179th paragraph be immediately executed or not'. It being answered in the affirmative and at the same time a tender made of the services of those members who sat by courtesy, nothing further was proceeded upon. The affirmative acted merely to exclude the members who sat then by courtesy at the Council from their seats, and not a regulation of any kind took place. I suppose however some will shortly be made as they cannot I think in decency first exclude the Junior Members and then overrule the Company's orders, but God knows the hearts of men."

The letter concludes with a request that it may be shown to Leycester.

Letter 24. pp. 71-76.

R. Barwell to his brother Roger; Calcutta, 1 November 1770.

Chiefly concerned with Roger's financial affairs, and the debt owed to Roger by one Narsing his Hindu banian. Encloses a note of 28 October 1770, from John Graham, and one from Robert Crawford (1 November 1770) giving details of the debt and attempts to recover it. The letter then describes briefly the new orders from the Court of Directors, and Barwell's hopes of receiving two Chiefships. He delays any full discussion, however, until he has become more fully acquainted with the views of the Board.

Letter 25. pp. 76-77.

R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont, n. d.

Concerning a sale of marble.

Letter 26. pp. 78-80.

R. Barwell to A. Beaumont and R. Leycester; Calcutta, 20 December 1770.

Enclosing two bills drawn on them, and a statement of the account of Joseph Jekyll with Barwell.

Letter 27. pp. 81-82.

R. Barwell to John Graham[11]—Extract of letter of 20 December 1770.

"In my letter of 4 November you may remember I said the gentlemen who urged the exclusion of the Junior Members wish to appear to do what in fact they do not do, and to this end put a gloss on their proceedings to impose belief in the Company that every necessary step is taken for the execution of their orders, when at the same time they are pursuing a mode evidently calculated to elude those orders. Now the branching the argument into two parts, which you think weakens the representation, strikes me in a very different light, and so far from invalidating the reasoning by a seeming contradiction, supports it with greater force....

Now by the gentlemen being called to the Presidency it seems as if they were absolutely divested of the trusts they hold, but how can they in fact be said to be divested of those trusts when they are still Chiefs; the call to Calcutta does not incapacitate the gentlemen from returning to their several stations, nor does it weaken the force of their Commissions.

Now as their commissions are not annulled by any order of Government, nor are superceeded by any subsequent appointments, the authority of the several Chiefs of the Subordinates remain as before with these Chiefs at the same time that the order for their repairing to Calcutta insinuates to the Court of Directors they are entirely moved from their stations, a proceeding calculated (as I before said) to impose belief that every necessary step has been taken to execute the Company's order when the mode pursued is adopted to elude those very orders.

This manner of arguing by no means admits of the deduction you make, that the Subordinates are vacated and the Presidency of course compleat, but that the Presidency is incompleat and the Subordinates full, and that this the Governor and Council wish to disguise from the knowledge of the Company.

[11] Resident at Burdwan and Midnapur.

The letter concludes with a remark on the difficulties the writer finds in bringing a number of diverging views together into one report.

Letter 28. pp. 83-91.

R. Barwell to Ralph Leycester; Calcutta, 21 December 1770.

On business matters concerning Leycester's interests, enclosing accounts current of Leycester and Dr. Henry Lushington with William Lushington, and of Leycester with his attorneys in Bengal.

Letter 29. pp. 92-93.

R. Barwell to his brother Roger; Calcutta, 22 December 1770.

Concerning business matters, and the investment of his moneys. "Should my attorneys hesitate to accept these drafts without keeping cash in their hands to the amount, I must desire you to be surity (*sic*) to them for the amount, because it will not answer any purpose if my mony (*sic*) is not in the India funds for you and my sister to push my interests..... The success of Sir G. Colbrocke (Colebrooke) and defeat of Sulivan [in the annual election of Directors] may possibly fix the power of His Lordship's friends. I have no occasion to point out a prudential system. The times must direct your pursuits either on your own or on my behalf. Gregory has I understand, some sway, and Purling likewise influence—but I cannot at this distance be particular... however I write to both and wish you to cultivate the acquaintance of whoever may be of service to me."

He encloses letters from the (late) Junior Members of the Council to the Governor, to John Graham and to the Secretary and asks that Gregory's attention be drawn to them.

Letter 30. pp. 94-98.

Francis Hare, Joseph Jekyll, Thomas Lane, Richard Barwell to Hon. John Cartier; Fort William, 3 December 1770.

Written on the occasion of their exclusion from the Council and putting their case against it. The letter goes on:—

"......We must acknowledge, after it had been urged, such was the deference formerly shown to gentlemen in similar circumstances on this establishment, we did not imagine you would have precluded us from the share we had in the administration; the instance at Fort St. George of gentlemen now sitting at the Board as supernumerary members was unavailing......" The letter outlines the course of events:—

"On Wednesday the 31st October the letter per Mansfield was read, on Thursday 1st November a Council was summoned. At this meeting,

a Council not being held (and at which we were not present because we were not summoned) it was agreed the Junior Members be called upon the Saturday morning (the 3rd November), and Messrs. Becher and Kelsall requested to attend. The proceedings on that day opened with a declaration from the Chair. 'This Council is assembled to take into consideration the 179th paragraph of the Honourable Company's general letter per Lord Mansfield', a question arose thereon. 'Is the letter to be thus partially considered, or is the whole to be considered'. The answer, 'to be partially considered', and to this a remark was made (although it does not appear in our proceedings), 'the 179th paragraph only is to be considered, for on that being determined in the negative or the affirmative depends whether you gentlemen sitt longer as Members of this Board', or words to that effect. The question was then put, 'Shall the Honourable Company's orders in the 179th paragraph of their letter per Mansfield be enforced or not enforced', agreed they be immediately enforced; agreed we do not think ourselves authorized to accept the proffered services of Messrs. Hare, Jekyll, Lane and Barwell. Agreed we adjourn.

On the evening of the same day after our exclusion a Council was held and the following resolutions taken. Agreed Messrs. Alexander, Aldersay, Kelsall and Reed be requested to repair to the Presidency immediately. Agreed to address the Presidency of Fort St. George for the Commissioners' packets and wait the arrival of those packets before we proceed to make any further alterations on this change in the system of government. Mr. Kelsall permitted to return to Dacca to settle his private affairs. This has been done, and possibly may be all that is necessary for the execution of the Honourable Company's commands. We confess, however, that we entertain a different opinion, and that to our ideas the orders contained in the 179th paragraph are not enforced, although it was resolved these should be immediately executed.

By these your Resolutions, the state of the Government is affected in the following manner:—

"Instead of nine members, four members of Council, only, have the administration of the Honourable Company's affairs, and by them only every act of Government has for this month past (and may possibly for some months to come) be approved and enforced.

Secondly .... the subordinate factories (Patna, Dacca etc.) appear to be vacant and yet are not really so, because the trust is still in a measure in those gentlemen who have the nomination, for their orders, even when they shall be absent from their Chiefships, will be obeyed until other Chiefs are appointed."

The letter concludes by urging that the whole case can be judged only by their employers themselves. Append as a precedent, an extract from the General Letter from Bengal of 16 January 1761.

Letter 31. pp. 99-102.
R. Barwell to John Graham; —— 4 November 1770.

(Enclosure in letter 29) Recounting the incidents of the Council meeting, at which he and the other Junior Members were excluded, and the subsequent actions of the Council, and expressing his dissatisfaction with these actions.

Letter 32. p. 103.
R. Barwell to William Wynne, Secretary to the Council; 18 November 1770.

(Enclosure in letter 29) Raises questions on the form of summons to the Council of the 17th November and on the records of its proceedings.

Letter 33. p. 104.
R. Barwell to Phillip Milner Dawes; Calcutta, 22 November 1770.

With set of bills in his favour.

Letter 34. pp. 104-105.
R. Barwell to R. Gamon; Calcutta, 22 November 1770.

Sending his current account and bills of exchange.

Letter 35. p. 106-7.
R. Barwell to his uncle Richard Barwell; Calcutta, 22 November 1770.

Enclosing his current account.

Letter 36. pp. 108-112.
R. Barwell to [a Director of the Company] n. d.

Acknowledges his obligation for favours as reported by his brother.

"In the letter per Mansfield I was pleased to find the blame incurred by my disagreement with Mr. Aldersey softened by some kind observations, such as that it did not appear I had acted from sinister views. Could you for a moment be here to observe us, I am convinced you would have reason to be satisfied with the kind opinion that influenced you to support me against Mr. Aldersey's malvolence (*sic*) which gave rise to that paragraph in the letter per Talbot inserted by the Madras gentlemen, so much to my prejudice, and of which I was never informed, so secretly and so effectually to answer the purpose of the representation

did the Madras interest proceed—an interest at that time prevalent in the Council of Bengal.

When I was called to the Board last January, my first business was a perusal of the Records, and there, to my astonishment, I first perceived the kindness that had been done to me. The apprehension I entertained of the consequences made me immediately notice it at the Board, and the general letter from hence of the last of January or beginning of February 1770 has a paragraph in terms calculated to remove the impression which their condemnation of my conduct in the general letter per Talbot might make."

He again thanks his correspondent for taking up his case when the matter was considered by the Court of Directors. The letter then refers to the altercations, arising out of the instructions of Lapwing and Mansfield.

"The state of the country, and the discouraging circumstances under which the regulations are enforced must naturally affect those advantages the Company have a right to expect from the new system, but that the Company will not be benefitted, as is insinuated by those who wish to recurr to the old system, you must not believe. Look at the settlement of the New Year. Allow for the great depopulation, which may be computed at one quarter of the present inhabitants, either famished or migrated, and it must appear to you something extraordinary that the revenue of this year should [be] nearly equal to the revenue of preceding years, especially when this revenue without any new imposts is collected from a country blessed with only three quarters of the people who formerly inhabited it."

"....Abuses appear sufficient to condemn the old system, half the corruptions of which, nevertheless, cannot be exposed while the power (of his Excellency Mahmud Raza Cawn) exists, whence they have arisen.

The Dacca province, of which Mr. Kelsall is Supervisor, is reduced to extremity by the imposition of the black collectors, and such are the steps taken to impoverish it, that the greatest attention, in that gentleman's successors, will scarcely restore it to its former flourishing condition."

The letter then describes the intrigues of the zemindars, their attempts to dispose of much of the revenue for their own purposes, and to weaken the Supervisors.

"When the Council enforced the orders by the Lapwing, the authority of the Supervisors was restored to them, but it was not till October last they began to be exercised under the direction of the Councils of Revenue. The execution of the Company's regulations in the Lapwing's letter was

strenuously opposed by Messrs. Russell and Floyer, the prior in expectation of the Durbar, was desirous of the extensive power of former Residents ; the latter, in expectation of Patna, thought his situation would not be improved by a Revenue Council."

He then describes the manner in which the letters per Lapwing and Mansfield were considered, and their Directors' orders carried out.

Letter 37. pp. 113-117.

R. Barwell to Thomas Rumbold ; Calcutta, 29 December 1770.

Thanks him for his kind attentions, then continues with discussion of the changes, as a result of the letters by the Lapwing and Mansfield ; the collection of revenues, the position of the Supervisors, and the attempts to decrease their controlling power. Although the state of the country had, for the present, affected the advantages the Company might expect from the new system, it was without doubt only a matter of time before the expected benefits were forthcoming. Everything depended on patience, perseverence and a firm government. He then discusses the expulsion of the Junior Members of Council, and continues,

"The Madras Interest (all powerful) adhere to their old principles, and invariably press the views of its members. Formerly they voted the Second in Council to reside at the Presidency. They will soon, I believe, vote him to the Durbar, and exclude Middleton from succeeding to Becher's station, for no other reason that I can discern than because Alexander is from Fort St. George. A General Council is shortly to assemble and settle the affairs of the Company. . . . The Bills of Exchange drawn on the Company, to be paid in equal proportions in three years, amounts to about 70 lacs, a monstrous sum. The debt at interest here increased about 20 lacs. Stipends and salaries to the King and Nabobs and Ministers 30 lacs in arrears. And yet the Treasury is not rich.

To answer the drafts on England, the Council have resolved to make an annual increase of Investment by ready money purchases, to the amount of 20 lacks ; and to be enabled, in the course of three years, to pay off the debt at interest. No money is to go to China before the debt is discharged. With proper management and attention all this may certainly be effected, and indeed it is much to be wished ; for all anticipations of the publick revenues must be detrimental to the political and commercial interests of any country whatever, and when I consider the probability there is of troubles, I own I am extremely anxious that the government should be at liberty to apply its natural riches in its defence, and not sink under the burthen of its publick debts."

Then follows news of the movements of various Company servants.

"I had almost forgot to mention a circumstance that has occurred since the appointment of a Council of Revenue. M. R. Cawn, jealous of Nuncomar, has preferred, by the means of Mahmed Ally, Phowsdar of Purnea, and Mr. Ducarrel, a complaint against Nuncomar. A letter from Suja ul Dowla to Nuncomar, through the channel of one Davying Diwan of Purnea, said to be intercepted, is the ground on which the charge is founded. Nothing can be more ridiculous or absurd ; the matter alledged is improbable to the greatest degree, and no proofs have as yet been produced to support the allegation, nor do I perceive the least probability of the affair being soon brought to a test."

An anecdote illustrating Muhammed Rheza Khan's intrigues to hamper the Supervisors.

Letter 38. pp. 118-119.

R. Barwell to Major Thomas Pearson ; Calcutta, 29 December 1770.

"I am most concerned to observe myself to appear to be associated with men I cannot be very well pleased with, and whose manners are so different from my own. Therefore, pray do not admit the application of the old adage. 'I know him by his company'."

Lists several letters, which he encloses [including letters 27, 30, 31, 32] for Pearson's perusal.

"Irwin has been under some apprehension of the advantages he reaps from the Muxadavad Mint being shared from him by the Council of Revenue. I received a letter to that effect from him, which I answered, and pointed out to him how ungraciously the Governor and Council had given him the Supervisorship of the Mint (an appointment half opposed by Russell and Floyer, when it was made) and therefore, if the gentlemen of the Revenue Council did insist on having some of the profits, to make the best bargain he could for himself, and take advantage of his being nominated assistant under the Durbar, and if the Mint was not worth his while, to obtain, if possible, a Supervisor's station. At the same time I wrote strongly to Graham, and as I have not heard anything more of Irwin's fears for his emoluments, those have doubtless been secured to him."

In a P.S. he recounts as in letter 36 the charges made by Muhammed Rheza Khan against Nand Kumar.

Letter 39. p. 120.

R. Barwell to John Knott ; Calcutta, 29 December 1770.

Refers him to Rumbold for information on the state of affairs in Bengal, contained in letter 36.

Letter 40. pp. 121-123.
R. Barwell to his sister Mary; Calcutta, 29 December 1770.

Thanking her for her scheme to promote his interests. Also pointing out the disadvantages of her suggestion that she go out to India, on the grounds, among others, that "for these four years past the French nation have been augmenting their military force in the East, which is now so formidable as to put it beyond a doubt some blow is meditated against the English settlements, because their armaments are much beyond what is necessary for the defence of their possessions."

Letter 41. pp. 124-125.
R. Barwell to Stanlake Batson[12]; Calcutta, 29 December 1770.

Sending a letter from Harry Grant, (27 December 1770) regarding Batson's business affairs.

Letter 42. pp. 128-130.
R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont. n. d.

In reply to letter of June 6th, 1770. Chiefly on business affairs, giving account of his financial circumstances. Encloses a letter for the executors of his father's estate, and a power of attorney. "I can pronounce myself worth £st. 30,000, thirty thousand, in this I include my father's legacy."

"You will hear from my brother I have been disappointed of Dacca, and see my letter to the Governor and Council, on that occasion. I find from several covert proceedings great are the resentments of the gentlemen who opposed the execution of the Company's orders per Lapwing and Mansfield, against your humble servant, who promoted the execution."

Letter 43. pp. 131-133.
R. Barwell to Robert Gregory[13]; 22 March 1771.

"In my last, I observed to you that I did suppose the Madrass Interest would attempt to supersede Mr. Middleton's pretensions to the Durbar. I was not out in that conjecture; as the gentlemen came prepared to the Board, and Mr. Alexander desired the question might be put, whether the Second of the Council of Fort William should or should not be chief of the Durbar, and the Council, almost unanimous, declared for the second. Mr. Middleton, perceiving how little consistency the gentlemen of Madrass were inclined to preserve (between their opinion

[12] Formerly a Company servant in Bengal.
[13] A Director of the East India Company, Chairman, 1782. Formerly a free merchant in Bengal.

now to be given and the opinion they had formerly given when the views of one of their own body came in competition with Mr. Becher's pretensions) delivered, on the proposed reconsideration of the subject, a minute prepared for the occasion, wherein...he begs leave to offer to consideration a previous question. The Governor and Council having twice debated the subjects, now a third time proposed to be discussed, and resolved the Second shall reside in Calcutta, he fears it may greatly impeach the firmness of the Government, to deviate from or even canvass the resolutions of a former board, especially at a time when orders might be expected from the Court of Directors. He therefore submits to their judgement, the propriety of deliberating upon and controuling the repeated determinations of the Board. The proposed discussion was, in consequence, waved, and Mr. Middleton obtained the Durbar on the previous Resolution of the Government and Council. For though the gentlemen of Fort St. George (Mr. Floyer excepted) came to vote the second (Mr. Alexander) to the Durbar, they were unprepared for the previous question whether they could with propriety canvass or controul a fixed rule of Council when no publick consideration influenced so extraordinary a measure.

Your packets to the Commissioners having directed the Second of the Bengal Council to be preferred to the Durbar station, the same has been communicated to Mr. Middleton, with directions to him to hold himself in readiness to repair to the Presidency; but before the receipt of this letter at the Durbar, Mr. Middleton had proceeded to Dacca to inquire into the state of the collections, and form the settlement for the new year."

Gives his reasons for considering that it will not be worth Mr. Alexander's while in the circumstances to take up the appointment as he may hope to succeed Cartier as Governor, or, if superceded will resign. The letter concludes with his hope that nothing he has written concerning Governor Cartier has given offence.

Letter 44. pp. 133-137.

R. Barwell to Thomas Rumbold; Mootejill[14]; 22 March 1771.

Acknowledges letter, dated St. Helena, and wishes him "the accomplishment of all your views, and, as the intelligence of the unhappy fate of the Aurora will in all probability alter the Directors' plan respecting the disposal of the Government of Bengal, it affords you a greater opportunity to push the point you would attain. Some one must take the

[14] *i.e.* Moti Jhil near Murshidabad.

place proposed for Mr. Vansittart and I hope sincerely that that white lot may prove to be yours.

I mentioned in my last that the drafts from hence would amount to about 70 lacs and that the Investments would be increased in proportion to answer it. I asserted this from my knowledge of what passed at the Board when I had the honour of being a Counsellor. I objected, when the time limitted by publication expired, to the extending it from the first November to the first January. However, not choosing to stand singular in a dissent I proposed a limitation of the sum to be accepted in that period and 70 lacs was at last determined the ultimate sum. The consultations of October last have on record at the period the Board resolved to extend the time for receiving money for Bills into the Treasury, the above sum and the means by which the Company were to be enabled to discharge the Bills to be drawn on them ; but instead of 70 lacs, which it was the intention of the Board not to exceed, the sum of one crore or nearly has been drawn, and instead of an investment of 75 lacs one very insufficient proceeds to Europe. As I was not at the Board after the 4th November I hope the Directors will not condemn me with those who composed the Council and whose want of attention occasioned so great an excess in the drafts. Should they, I make no doubt, my friend, you will exculpate me as far as lays in your power.

As I do not find I have mentioned in any of my letters a circumstance that occurred almost immediately on my taking my seat at the Board, as it will tend in some measure to point out how averse I have been to drawing upon the Company without giving them the means of answering our drafts, I will relate it The Company had ordered the first dividend of the Navy Donation to be paid when they were in cash. On the strength of this order the agents in England drew on the agents here for 7 lacs of rupees in favour of the Chief and Council of Chandernagore, who accepted the Bills on the assurance of the Governor and Council that the dividend should be paid. But upon representations made by the agents and the lowness of the Treasury, it was judged equally political and prudent to indemnify the agents in the penalty of 10 per cent on the principal sum of 7 lacs for not answering their engagement to pay in that sum to the French cash for Bills, and besides to engage to give the agent bills on the English Company for the amount. As I thought the paying such a premium as 70,000 rupees could not be vindicated and that the purpose might equally have been answered by intimating to the agents they could not pay the money, I was influenced to be singular and entered my dissent to the Resolution, softened however as much as

possible to avoid giving offence. This appears on the Records of January 1770."

He considers this and other actions may have given offence and led to the decision to pass him over for Dacca in favour of one Harris, junior to him, a slight against which he has vigorously protested, though he has been given the place of second on the Revenue Council at the Durbar. He has written to John Purling, Deputy Chairman of the Company, and hopes Rumbold will help him with a good word.

Letter 45. p. 138.

R. Barwell to Harry Verelst[15] *; Mootejill, 22 March 1771.*

Apologising for his delay in writing, and acknowledging his gratitude for Verelst's kindness to him. The letter refers him to Rumbold for details of public affairs.

Letter 46. pp. 139-40.

R. Barwell to John Purling; Mootejill, 22 March 1771.

A further approach to this influential Director, enclosing various documents on public affairs. He repeats his exculpation from participation in the over-drawing of bills on the Company as in letter 44, adding .... "Permit me here to remark that the excess of the drafts and the inadequateness of the investment have occurred since the Madrass gentlemen had the direction of your affairs." He also draws attention to his action with regard to the Navy donation, as in letter 44. In a postscript he comments on one of the documents he encloses (not inserted in the letter-book) accusing the Governor and Council of delay in carrying out the Company's orders calling the "Chiefs of Subordinates" to Calcutta.

Letter 47. pp. 141-142.

R. Barwell to his brother Roger; Mootejill, 21 March 1771.

Since Roger proposes to return to India, Barwell's attorneys are to open any letters sent for him under cover to them.

"It is necessary in your absence they should be possessed of such information as concerns me; for as I have the greatest confidence in their friendship, I have, and always wish them, furnished with the means of promoting my welfare, as much as lays in their power, and of defending me from the aspersions of my enemies, if such I have."

[15] Governor of Bengal, 1767-1769.

He then continues, by stating his belief that an attempt is to be made to discredit him, in the eyes of the Directors which makes it necessary for him to be extremely careful in his actions and correspondence.

Since arriving at this station, "I have been confined to my apartments by a scar I received on Mount Cytharea," which has prevented his attending to business, but now that he was recovered he will take up his duties.

Letter 48. pp. 143-144.
R. Barwell to Captain John Clements; Mootejill, 22 March 1771.

Congratulates him on the success of his late voyage. If he wishes to venture another only the "Bombay and Mocha voyage with the sole Supercargoship" is likely to meet his expectations "for the markets of India are so low that no adventure will answer on any other plan and, exclusive of the low marks (*sic*) of India the Act of Parliament in the 10th year of George the 3rd[16] is very severe against those who may deal in prohibited goods."

Describes the changes which have taken place in Bengal, since his (Clement's) departure, on the receipt of the orders per Lapwing and Mansfield, and asks him to use his influence in his favour.

Letter 49. p. 144.
R. Barwell to Ralph Leycester; Mootejill, 22 March 1771.

Pointing out that, as he has changed his place of residence, Leycester's affairs have been put into William Lushington's charge. He also asks Leycester to refer to Roger's letters for full details of the situation in the Council, and his attitude to Mr. Cartier who "has not proved himself the candid and impartial man I did expect to find him. Read the facts and judge."

Letter 50. p. 145.
R. Barwell to Major Thomas Pearson; Mootejill, 22 March 1771.

Illness has prevented him from carrying out his duties, up to this time, at his new station. "Upon your recommendation of Nuncomar, I have sent for his brother-in-law, to assist me in my researches here. I hope the Reza will not be backward in affording the lights which he possesses, though from what I have already observed, he is more anxious to get into power to crush his rival, than to give such information as

[16] 10 Geo. III, c. 47.

may benefit the public by increasing the revenue, which on his succession would affect him."

The letter continues with news of Irwin's situation, and refers Pearson to Roger Barwell for full details of this, and the preference given to Harris over himself for the Chiefship of Dacca.

Letter 51. pp. 146-147.
R. Barwell to his sister Mary; Mootejill, 26 March 1771.

Merely to send his greetings, before the season closes. Asks her to assure his family that his business affairs and fortune are in a satisfactory state. "My fortune, if I live to collect it, is genteel and independant (*sic*)." If he should die now, he would expect his relations to get not less than £25,000.

Letter 52. pp. 147-148.
R. Barwell to his sister Frances; Mootejill, 26 March 1771.

A greeting, with brotherly advice on the ways of life.

Letter 53. p. 149.
R. Barwell to T. Smith; Patna, 30 September 1771.

Assuring him that he will give whatever attention he is able to his friend, and his son Edward.

Letter 54. p. 150.
R. Barwell to Miss Ann Keene; Patna, 30 September 1771.

Apologising for not being more punctual in sending home accounts of her business affairs, and enclosing a bill of exchange for £101.5.0. drawn on his attorneys.

Letter 55. pp. 151-160.
R. Barwell to Ralph Leycester; 'on board my Budgerrow', 30 September 1771.

Acknowledges receipt of letters, duplicates of 13th March and 6th September 1769, originals of 19th November 1770 and 19th February 1771. Leycester had disagreed with Barwell's opinions, about the latter's standing in the Company, and Barwell now states his grievances with regard to his seniority of standing in Bengal and adds a justification of his recent actions.

"The weakness of administration makes me, however, more satisfied with my exclusion from it than I should otherwise have been. The material object, the reduction of the immense charges, civil and military, so far from having been attended to , is enhanced some lacs, and although

the drafts on Europe were so very exorbitant last season, we have not any money in the Treasury. The cry for cash, when I was in Calcutta a few days ago, was so serious that Mr. Cartier told me he apprehended they would again be necessitated to open the Treasury to receive money for bills. As nothing can be more ruinous to the Company than expenses unregulated and unprovided for, it is not possible to say what consequences may attend the loose system that has been pursued. We want, Leycester, a Governor amongst us who will dare to correct, who can see the faults that exist and has a judgement clear and unbiassed and a resolution to execute any plan of reformation he may determine upon.... Can anything so strongly speak a deficiency in every branch of the Publick service as the defective statements of the receipts of the Publick Treasure sent from hence. By those it should appear the Company are growing rich very fast, instead of which their debts are accumulating every year and their whole Revenue, if mortgaged for the payment, would not discharge those debts under a long period and at the same time answer the Company's current expenses. I think I see you surprised at the picture I have presented to you, it is however very just. And yet I cannot for the soul of me conceive how the money is all dissipated. Calcutta has only its own charges to bear, exclusive of its military expense, which is about 150,000 per month, and an Aurung Investment with charges of about 12 lacs per annum; and its receipts from the revenues of Burdwan, Midnapore and the Calcutta Lands, likewise from the Company's annual sales of cloth and copper and the Customs of Calcutta amount to at least 53 lacs. Deduct from which the above 30 lacs and the remaining 23 lacs is swallowed up in fortifications and God knows what.

The revenue paid in at Mùxadavad after deducting the King's tribute, the Nabob's and Ministers' salaries and our own civil charges may be nett 50 or 60 lacs, from which Bombay is to be supplied with 14 lacs, the demands from the Cossimbuzar Factory answered and Dacca and Maulda and Luckypore supplied. The sums required for these Factories on computation by last year's advances are as follows—Cossimbuzar 25, Dacca 13, Maulda 5, Luckypore 4, in all 61 lacs. Then the military expenses of one entire brigade for 3 months of the year, or a half brigade for the whole year and of the Dewannee establishment of Seapoys is about 28 lacs per annum, in all 89 lacs, so that Muxadavad exceeds its income 29 lacs, which amount the King etc., etc., are kept in arrears. Patna pays a brigade for the whole year, another for ¼ part of the year, its own Purgunnah establishment and some military expense incurred by a station of our troops at Alibad and Chunar Gurr. These charges, with about 5 lacs

remitted to Calcutta in an Investment of cloth and salt petre accounts for the whole revenue collected in Behar.

Now we will take a view of the Investment.

Cossimbuzar from the best information I could get				...	1,100,000
Dacca	"	"	"	...	800,000
Maulda	"	"	"	...	300,000
Luckypore and Chittagong		"	"	...	500,000
Calcutta Aurungs		"	"	...	900,000
Patna		"	"	...	500,000
					4,100,000
Bombay remitted there				...	1,400,000
					5,500,000

So that [from] about 80 lacs advanced to the several factories and Aurungs the above is only realized to the Company. As the difference between the sum advanced to Cossimbuzar and that realized in its Investment appears excessive, it is necessary you be informed that that Factory is saddled with a charge of 750,000 per annum for military buildings at Barrampore. By this you perceive the Investment is provided from money which by the faith of Factories is due to the King etc., etc., withheld, and from the produce of the Company's sales in copper and broadcloth, and interest bonds given for money to merchants, for on the present system every rupee of the revenue is eaten up in expenses civil and military. I do not exaggerate, Leycester. You may imagine then what is necessary and that we cannot without adopting a new plan disengage the Government here without drawing on Europe."

The appointment of Supervisors has not proved successful, largely be believes, through the unsuitability of many of the persons nominated. as changes are expected he had not been anxious to leave Muxadavad, but has been forced to proceed to Patna of which he has been appointed Chief.

A P.S. says, "Not a whisper of my name when you speak of Bengal affairs."

Letter 56. p. 160.

R. Barwell to Captain G. Thomson; Patna, 30 September 1771.

Asking him to conclude the transaction on a remittance he had sent home as quickly as possible.

Letter 57. pp. 161-162.
R. Barwell to his brother James[17] *; On the Road to Patna, 30 September 1771.*

On business, concerning his brother's affairs.

Letter 58. pp. 162-165.
R. Barwell to his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Barwell ; Patna, 30 September 1771.

On personal affairs, concerning his family.

Letter 59. pp. 165-166.
R. Barwell to Messrs. Long and Drake[18] *; Patna, 30 September 1771.*

Acknowledges receipt of letter of 20 March 1770, with regret that he cannot supply the required information respecting Mr. Robsen's inquiries.

Letter 60. pp. 166-168.
R. Barwell to his brother Roger ; Mootejill, 21 March 1771.

Duplicate of letter 47.

Letter 61. pp. 169-171.
R. Barwell to a lady, unnamed ; Boglepore, 29 September 1771.

Personal, expressing his continued attachment and esteem.

Letter 62. pp. 172-176.
R. Barwell to Anselm Beaumont ; On Road to Patna, 30 September 1771.

Chiefly on business affairs,

"I could wish to keep £10,000 always on the India Funds. I will certainly remit you a lac of rupees (if I can by any means whatever) before this season closes, and should the Company open their Cash, your fortune with me shall be sent home."

L. S. SUTHERLAND

(To be continued)

[17] Captain of an East Indiaman.
[18] Of London, merchants.

LOCAL RECORD OFFICES IN ENGLAND

SINCE the late war, a tremendous interest in local history has been aroused in the people of England. Hitherto local historians had generally confined themselves to tracing the owners of the manor from the time of Domesday, regardless of the fact that many of them were absent landlords or members of religious orders who had little or no influence on the life of the township or village.

Historians both professional and amateur have now switched their attention to the life led by the ordinary inhabitant, the craftsman, the tradesman, the labourer and of their women folk.

The establishment of a record office in nearly all counties of England and the appointment of a trained archivist has done much to facilitate this development, while the break up of the big family estates has made available large quantities of manorial and other estate documents, which in the main have been deposited in the local record offices and have thus become available for consultation.

The lay-out of these offices varies tremendously according to the accommodation available. In counties where new County Halls have been built, suitable rooms have been set aside for offices, public search rooms and for storage, but in the majority of cases existing space has had to be adapted, sometimes with most unsatisfactory results. In a few cases an ancient mansion has been converted and although this may provide a suitable historic atmosphere the risk of fire is great.

My brief visits to your hospitable country did not enable me to study your archive problems, and I propose, therefore, to confine my remarks to the ideal lay-out of a local record office in England hoping that my colleagues in India will be able to pick up some information which may be applicable to both countries.

Buildings

The pre 1939-1945 war idea that storage rooms must be well buried underground to withstand a direct hit from a high explosive bomb has now been discarded, as with the development of more deadly weapons it is realized that some risk has to be taken. Even the new provincial repositories now being constructed to the order of the Public Record Office consist of long brick or concrete blocks built at ground level one storey high, the buildings being set apart from one another by wide spaces.

The essential accommodation which all archivists demand is that the building must be fire proof, burglar proof, damp proof and vermin proof, and must be provided with adequate ventilation.

Direct heating may be a danger and no hot water pipes should be allowed in a storage room. On the other hand equipment must be provided to rectify too much humidity. The right temperature for a muniment room in England is between 50° and 60° farenheit and the humidity between 40% and 60%. A Thermo Hygrograph should be in constant use to check these figures. Fans which circulate the air should be fitted in suitable places in each room.

Supply of electricity should be controlled by a plug attached to a metal covered flex connecting with a plug socket and switch outside the entrance, so that it is impossible to close the safe door until the plug is removed, consequently there is no electric current in the muniment room when the door is closed.

The door or doors connecting the muniment rooms with the outside must be steel burglar proof safe doors, but those leading into separate compartments may be of wire link fencing or of some hard non-inflammable wood such as teak.

Shelving

Shelving should be enamel steel with open sides and back to allow as much passage of air as possible. The bottom shelf must be a few inches off the floor, and it is an advantage that the top shelf should not be more than 5′ 6″ from floor level so that an average size man may be able to reach the boxes or books on the top shelf without the aid of steps. If this is impossible strong library steps must be provided. If the building is very high there is no objection to an iron platform being interposed at the height of about 6′ 6″, so that the shelves are double decked.

Storage Equipment

In the record offices under my control we use boxes with sides of three-ply wood and bottom and lid of mill-board. The whole is lined with paper and the outside covered with buckram binding cloth. Three holes of 1 inch diameter are cut at either end to allow the admission of air.

These are probably not suitable for use in India, but any receptacle is better than tin or iron. Perhaps boxes are now constructed of plastic material which would be strong and insect proof, but I know of none.

Before being placed in boxes documents are folded flat to fit the size of the box most economically and are tied by tape on to mill-boards in small batches. Reference numbers are pasted on the mill-board so that the contents of each package are readily seen. The contents of each box

are given in a holder on the outside. It is a mistake to use boxes of too large a size as when filled they become too heavy to manipulate. The size of the boxes we use is 17″ × 17″ × 8″.

For large documents which should be kept flat: *e.g.* plans, maps, etc. an enamel steel plan case will be found most useful.

It is very necessary to have a table in each muniment room in order that the archivist may be able to sort out the particular document he requires without bringing out the whole box.

De-infestation

It is most essential that all documents on being received should be put into a de-infestation cabinet before being taken to a room where other documents are stored. The cabinet should consist of a steel chamber which becomes sealed when the doors are closed. At the bottom of this chamber there should be a stand over an ordinary electric light bulb fitted horizontally with a tin tray in which to put thymol crystals. The heat given off by the electric lamp is sufficient to dissolve the crystals so that the fumes pervade the whole cabinet. Wires should be stretched across the inside of this cabinet on which documents may be hung. This allows free circulation of the fumes.

Sorting Room

After de-infestation, documents can be taken into a sorting room. It is convenient to have a large narrow table for this purpose and space sufficient to keep boxes so that the documents may be placed into the boxes as soon as sorted.

Repair Room

This should be supplied with a long repair bench on part of which plate glass should be fitted with electric light under the plate glass.

The room should be connected with running water and a square sink provided. Some form of heater must be fixed for making paste and size. Standing presses of various sizes for flattening documents must be available and a guillotine for cutting paper. Cupboards for the storage of repair materials are most useful.

Offices

These call for no special remarks and their number naturally will depend on the size of the staff. Accommodation for typists, files and a duplicating machine will be necessary.

Search Room

The size of this will of course be controlled by the number of students who are likely to attend at any one time. Provision must however be made for the examination of documents of unusual size *e.g.* maps.

A supervisor's desk should be placed in some position so that the official in charge of the room is able to get a clear view of the activities of the students.

Shelves must be provided for a reference library.

It is a great advantage to have a small strong room leading off the search room where documents may be temporarily stored when not in actual use.

Other equipment which may be useful is a microfilm reader, an ultra violet ray lamp holder for examining faded documents and perhaps some micro-camera which students may use under supervision.

Tickets must be written by students for every document required and the particulars given on the ticket copied into a register. When the document is returned the ticket will be given back to the student.

Regulations for the admittance of students, for the production of documents as to fees, etc. and the conditions as to copying of documents must be drawn up to suit local conditions.

Reproduction

It is very necessary that a photostat camera shall be available. Whether this is directly under control of the archivists or of some other department depends on circumstances. Mention has already been made of a micro-camera and if a photographic department is attached to the Record Office, it is desirable that all photographic equipment should be under the control of a skilled photographer.

Communications

It is desirable that a "house telephone" be fitted to communicate between the muniment rooms and the chief offices and especially with the supervisor in the search room.

Classes of Records

In most County Record Offices in England four main types of records are to be found.

(1) The records of Quarter Sessions, that is to say the Courts presided over by the Justices of the Peace. Before the establishment of County Councils in 1889 the administration of a County—such as it was —was in the hands of the justices in addition to their responsibility for

maintaining law and order. Consequently a very clear picture of life in the county may be obtained by a careful examination of these records.

After 1889 these administrative duties were taken over by the County Council but the Quarter Sessions continue to be held for the punishment of minor offences. It is useful therefore for the records of Quarter Sessions to run continuously for the 16th or 17th century down to the present day.

(2) The records of the County Council. These mainly consist of minute books of the Council and various committees. They are complete from 1889 to date.

(3) Ecclesiastical Records. Most County Record Offices have been selected by the Bishop of the Diocese as Diocesan Record Offices. This entitles them to receive parish records (including parish registers of baptisms, marriages and burials) archdeaconry documents and those of the Diocese. The extent to which ecclesiastical authorities take advantage of this scheme varies a great deal in different Dioceses.

(4) Records deposited by private individuals or purchased by the County authorities. This class embraces many manorial court rolls, bailiffs accounts and surveys as well as conveyances, leases, household accounts and private correspondence. Such documents generally cover all dates from the 12th to the 20th century. They are generally catalogued and indexed and are made available for public inspection.

There are many aspects of a Local Record Office with which space will not permit me to deal, but I trust that from the above you will be able to visualize the aims which archivists in England attempt to attain in the fitting up of their offices. Whether this description will be of assistance to archivists in India, I leave my readers to judge.

WILLIAM LE HARDY

THE PROBLEM OF ARCHIVAL ESTRAYS

IN the first section of this study[1] I have attempted to stress the view, commonly held by all archivists, that the totality of the archives created by an individual or a body forms an organic whole and that the violent severance from it of any of its components has the effect of transforming the latter into 'estrays' and of thus rendering them utterly valueless. Conversely, such a process, which almost resembles an amputation, is liable to change the entire character of the archive body itself, of which the 'estrays' once formed an integral part. The personality of an archival series derives from the peculiar relation which links its components to each other in that series ; it becomes exposed to the danger of a violent metamorphosis, if not complete dissolution, whenever that relation is rudely disturbed by the removal of a component document.

The problem in its practical implications

This view does not owe its origin to any pedantic veneration for a pet dogma ; it is based on practical considerations. The arrangement of the documents in an archival series corresponds exactly to the order in which the business of which they are the recorded evidence was disposed of by the creator of the series concerned. They represent the successive phases of the same transaction and make sense only when they are studied collectively and are combined in the order of their origin. The disappearance of even a single document from a series may thus render the whole series unintelligible, if not positively misleading. Conceive, for instance, of an archival series which has retained all the documents relating to a particular transaction barring the one which embodies the final decision taken on the subject or the last act in the series constituting the transaction. Can such a collection, however voluminous in bulk, be of any use to the statesman or the administrator who is anxious to inform himself of the precise decision that may have been taken in the case or the concrete result to which the transaction ultimatetly may have led? For any individual or agency charged with a responsible function it is always essential to know what has gone on before. It is necessary for them to avoid repeating what has already been completely threshed out or thoughtlessly undertaking tasks which are in open contradiction of earlier decisions. To start

[1] Published in *The Indian Archives* Vol. VII, No. 1, January-June 1953, pp. 14-28.

from scratch is seldom a practical proposition, but what other alternative is left to one who has no access to the very documents which would have given him the necessary lead?[2]

Or take again the converse case of a body of archives from which every document relating to a particular transaction has disappeared except those which reflect what is believed to be its final stage. It may be argued and it is often argued, that such a series, embodying as it does the essential evidence on the shape which the transaction finally took, should not be regarded as having in the least diminished in value merely because a few documents have wandered away from it. But the problem which this line of argument ignores is that of making sure that the document believed to be the final one in a series is really so. To argue that the belief is based on the 'fact' of its reflecting the 'final' stage in a transaction is only to beg the question, for the validity of the so-called 'fact' itself rests on the evidence of a document whose 'finality' is in question. It is, in fact, extremely risky to accept as 'final' any document in a series which is known to have been subjected to dismemberment, for the suspicion will always remain that other documents than those whose absence has been definitely noted may also have surreptitiously sneaked out of the series.

But the problem would hardly become simpler were it even possible to arrive at the certainty that the surviving document or documents in a dismembered series actually represent the final phase of a transaction. For what a person studying the history of a transaction needs to know is not only how it ended but also how it had begun. The last act of a drama is by itself not sufficient for its understanding, one needs to see also the earlier acts. The enquirer may be an administrator entrusted with the mere carrying out of an executive order embodying the final decision in a transaction, or he may be a statesman anxious to revise it or to extend its scope. But for both of them it is essential to be informed of the precise circumstances leading to its origin. Any attempt to implement a decision or undertake a reform without this necessary knowledge is bound to degenerate into sheer adventurism and to defeat the very objects which might have made either task desirable. It is only by studying the complete history of a particular policy evolved or a project decided on that one can judge whether they are being carried out in the way it was intended or yielding the results they had promised. This history can hardly be found in the document which gives only the final decision. Such

[2] For a full discussion of the point see Fritz Morstein Marx: *The Role of Records in administration*—a paper read before the Society of American Archivists, 25 October 1946; *The American Archivist*, July 1947.

a document even when very detailed can be no more than the mere quintessence of the events, the circumstances and the thoughts leading to its production, no more than a mere condensation of the series of activities constituting the transaction, the details of which as well as their real explanations whether legal, political or economical, must be looked for elsewhere than in the document itself. The enquirer thus not only needs the final document but rather everything that has been spun round it, everything which preceded it and made possible its coming into being, including all the letters and representations, all the discussions, notings and counter-notings, all the drafts and amendments which played a significant part in shaping the course of the transaction.[3]

A precise knowledge of what has gone on before is thus one of the primary requirements of administration and archives can meet this requirement only when they have survived in an unmutilated state. An archive body constitutes the collective memory of the agency which created it and it fails to function as soon as the links which held together its components are sundered by the forcible removal of one or more of them. While a dismembered body of archives is no help to its originator, it may do him positive harm by furnishing him with premises which are misleading, and making him reach conclusions which are wrong. When its collective memory fails an agency has to resort to the memory of individuals which is one of the most unreliable of guides. Individual memory is bound to break down in the long run, and as long as one has to depend on it one's progress is impeded at every step by the contradictory recollections of different persons and chances of unconscious distortion or deliberate misrepresentation of facts. An administrative authority whose archives have been subjected to amputation is almost in the same position as a person suffering from loss of memory. Much of the administrative confusion in the past of which examples can be cited *ad infinitum* from the history of almost every country can easily be explained by the chaos resulting from archival decomposition.

The removal of a record from the collection to which it naturally belongs involves a great deal more than the mere loss of a document. Such a removal may ruin the collection itself precisely in the same way as the dislodgement of a single stone can completely ruin an arch. A collection of which the key documents are missing is nothing better than a mere accumulation of unrelated documents, just as a fallen arch is only an aggregate of unrelated stones which are architecturally without a meaning.

[3] For a detailed development of this point see Kasimierz Konarski, *Nowozytna Archiwistiyka Polska i jej Zadania* (Modern Polish Archival Economy and its Tasks), Warsaw 1929.

But while a fallen arch can be reconstructed by filling the gaps in it with new stone pieces brought from elsewhere, a decomposed archive body will never permit such treatment, as the limbs which it has lost are unique and irreplaceable. It would follow from this that an archive collection can never profit by the addition to it of a 'foreign' document, a document which did not naturally belong to it; one archive body's loss is never the gain of another. You can build up an entirely new house with materials pilfered from another, or use the same pilferings in repairing an old building or in providing it with new wings. But what you will never be able to do is to construct a new archive body out of the wreck of an old one or to make the broken parts of a decomposed collection fill the gaps in another or add to its glory.

The explanation is again to be sought in the organic character of an archive collection. The documents composing such a collection, as already explained, stand to each other precisely in the same relation as the events of which they are the reflexion. They follow the precise order of these events, they act, react and impinge on each other in the manner of the latter; they become related to each other by the same compelling logic which link together the events themselves. One document attracts to itself another, only when the latter owes its origin to the impulses released by the former, just as two events become juxtaposed by the compelling force of their causal relations. A letter tends automatically to connect itself to its reply, an unjust order to the protests registered against it, an inaccurate report to the contradictions which it inspires. It is this tendency to attract which makes documents deriving from the same transactions form into a series; they repel each other when this tendency is lacking. If a document A has been received in response to another document B, the former has a legitimate right of entry to the series of which the latter is a component; both can in that case combine with other documents which have found their place in the series by the same right of entry to reveal the full history of which the series is the tangible evidence. The right of entry will however be withheld from the same A, if it cannot establish the same pedigree as B, if it is known to have sprung into existence from impulses different from those which were responsible for the production of the other documents in the series. Thus the famous minute of Warren Hastings which introduced pre-paid postage in India[4] has the undoubted right to be among the Public Consultations of the former Fort William Government as it was created by Hastings in the exercise of the same function which were responsible for the coming into being of the entire public series

[4] National Archives of India, Public Consultations 17 January 1774, Nos. 4-7.

of documents. The document has no place in any other archive series whether of the Fort William Government or of any other authority and no archive body will add a whit to its value or importance by dislodging it from its rightful place and engrafting it on itself. One might as well think of improving a Rembrandt picture with fragments borrowed from a Fragonard or of enhancing the beauty of a Petrarchan sonnet by free interpolations from Michelangelo.

While interpolations from external sources do not benefit an archive body in any manner whatever, they may do it endless harm by helping to obscure its intelligibility. The components of an archival series reveal a story by virtue of their inter-relation and the effect of the intrusion of an external document is to create a break in this relation and to obstruct the flow of that story. The phenomenon invites comparison with that of a running stream which has been divided into small bits of stagnant water by means of dams thrown across it. A good example of interpolated archives is provided by the early sections of the records of the Financial Department of the former Fort William Government which are hopelessly intermingled with the pilferings from the archives of the Commercial and Colonial Departments.[5] They present such a confusion that it is difficult today to get out of them an intelligible story of the financial administration to which they owed their origin. There is, however, one good point in favour of the Colonial and Commercial Department estrays which have found a shelter among the Financial Department's archives. Although they have wandered away from their parent bodies, they have never strayed out of legitimate custody. Their authenticity is thus not in doubt. Their case is, however, sharply to be distinguished from those archival intruders which are estrays from the custody of their creators or legitimate owners. Not only are these documents themselves suspect, their presence in any series would take away from that series its character of authenticity. The belief in the genuineness of the documents in an archive body is a logical corollary of the assumption that each one of them has come into being in the course of the transaction of which the archive body is the reflexion. Such a belief is bound to be rudely shaken whenever an archive

[5] The Commercial Department came into being as a separate wing of the Public Department of the Government at Fort William on 23 September 1789 and ceased to exist in 1834 when its papers appear to have been dispersed among several series, those relating to financial matters being incorporated in the fonds of the Financial Department. The latter include, for example, Commercial Consultation dated 9 June 1803, 7-8; 7 November 1805, 11; 8 January 1805, 8-9, 16, 18, 27, 28, 30; 4 June 1807, 1, and similar stray papers for 11 February, 19 February and 23 April 1813. Interspersed with these estrays are those from the Colonial Department which had a short-lived existence from 1812 to 1815. Examples of these are Consultations dated 24 April 1813, 9-10, 18, 19; 15 May, 10; 24 May, 1; 29 May, 10, 11, 12, 17, 19, 20 etc. Very few in fact are even aware of the existence of these documents.

body happens to yield documents of an unknown or a doubtful derivation, for the suspicion will never cease that other documents in the collection than those singled out as unauthentic may also have a dubious origin. The maxim that man is known by the company he keeps holds good also of documents.

If an archival estray cannot hold its own when joined to a genuine archival body, much less can it be expected to do so when left to itself. The story that a document reveals is seldom contained in the text it bears, it has very often to be gathered from the relation in which it stands to its natural associates in the same series.[6] How little depends on the wording of the text and how much on the inter-relation of documents can perhaps be shown by one example which used to be cited continually by a Professor at the Ecole des Chartes in Paris. There were in the various divisions of the Archives Nationales numerous loose documents from the end of the 15th century, mostly undated and unsigned and in great part not very intelligible. After a very close examination of these estrays it was accidentally learnt from a note that they had all been found in Louis XVI's study. An attempt was thereafter made to re-assemble them and to re-establish the natural links that once must have bound them together. This happened to be still possible because of the external marks the majority of the documents bore. When this was effected, the documents began to elucidate one another, their comparison made possible the fixing of the dates and most of the handwritings could be identified. It became evident, finally, that the documents were a genuine archival collection, and of the greatest importance for a knowledge of the politics of Louis XVI in the last years of his reign.[7] Suppose, for instance, that the documents had been kept separate from each other and no attempt had been made to replace them in the association to which they properly belonged; would it have been possible in that case to know them for what they were or to get the story which they were finally made to yield?[8]

How risky it is sometimes to depend on the text of a single document isolated from the series to which it naturally belongs can perhaps be best

[6] The reason why Sir Hilary Jenkinson is reluctant to allow full archival value to documents which have been violently torn from the connexion in which they were originally preserved is, as rightly pointed out by him, that the connexion "in nine cases out of ten is important . . . for the full understanding of their significance." (*A Manual of Archive Administration*, p. 41).

[7] Müller, Feith and Fruin, *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives*, p. 50.

[8] Consider in this connexion the case of the Stonor Papers which, because of the varying character of the subjects dealt with by them, have been so scattered that they are found now in classes as widely apart as the *Ancient Correspondence*, Chancery, Miscellanea, Ancient Deeds and Exchequer Accounts, with the result that there has been a very considerable difficulty in a number of cases in identification and ascription. Jenkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

illustrated by the notorious Napoleonic despatch on the Beresina disaster. In this despatch, as is well known, Napoleon sent to Paris a detailed account of a glorious victory accompanied by great captures of prisoners and war material. The true significance of the document can be understood only when it is studied in association with other documents in the contemporary war archives of France relating to the episode. The value of the document lies in its being the recorded evidence of how Napoleon had fabricated a garbled account of the crossing of the Beresina. The narrative it embodies has little intrinsic worth.[9] Military despatches emanating from Generals fighting a losing battle are oftener than not examples both of *suggestio falsi* and *suppressio veri*; their true significance becomes evident only when placed in the archive body of which they form an integral part. It is this fact, more than anything else, which distinguishes archives from all other forms of materials. As Ernst Posner has aptly put it, "while a picture that is taken from the walls of a museum has never been an integral part of the collection to which it belonged and will have the same value whether it hangs in Vienna or in Prague, records that are torn from the body of which they are an organic part lose in value and meaning."[10]

It is important to note, however, that the archivist's objection to estrays is grounded not only in his belief that they are inadequate or worthless as evidence but in the fact that they often adduce misleading evidence. No better illustration can be found of the serious complications which such archival vagrants can create nor indeed of the difficulties encountered in dealing with all types of stray documents than that furnished by the famous *bordereau* which was responsible for originating the Dreyfus trial and for creating a major political crisis. The *bordereau* was a list of military documents apparently submitted by a treasonable member of the French General Staff to the German military attaché, later purloined by a French spy and submitted to the French intelligence service. Dreyfus was involved because his own writing bore some resemblance to that of the *bordereau*. He was tried by a court martial *in camera*, condemned, degraded and sent to the Devil's island. The real author of the *bordereau*, as it was subsequently established on conclusive evidence, was Major Count Walsin Esterhazy, who had been in treasonable correspondence with the German military attaché. Neither the judicial debacle nor the political turmoil which followed it would have taken place, had the *bordereau* been in the place where it naturally belonged or the French authorities had the opportunity to study it in the context of all other documents relating to

[9] Rev. H. B. George, *Historical Evidence*, pp. 120-21.
[10] 'Effects of changes of Sovereignty on Archives', *The American Archivist*, July 1942.

the same transaction. Torn away from the latter the document could hardly reveal itself in its true light; it could afford only a distorted view of what had actually happened.

The example cited above (to which every archivist will be able to add countless others from his own experience) makes it clear enough how an administration, a government and even an entire nation may be misguided by a stray document, and will probably teach one to hesitate in the long run to accept such an incomplete record at its face value. The problem which such records create is thus more than a mere archival problem, it is essentially a problem in administration and democratic government. A complete record is the only effective means of pinning down the executive to incontrovertible documents and of thus securing executive accountability. It was possible to discover the shady transactions of which Col. Henry was guilty in the Dreyfus case, primarily because a complete record of the transactions was available with the French general staff. A complete record is also a useful tool of defence in the hands of an honest official or statesman when he is subjected to mischievous external criticism for acts done in good faith. It similarly protects the rights of the state against frivolous claims of designing individuals just as it defends the rights of citizens against unlawful encroachments, public or private. In short, the completeness of archives is the basic requirement of democracy and all forms of archival mutilation have to be provided against if good government is to be realized.[11]

The legal question

A reference has been made in the preceding paragraph to the role of archives as protector of legal rights and it has been stressed in a very clear language that stray archives can never perform this role. Before however we accept this conclusion it will be instructive to know what the law itself has to say on this intricate question. Documentary evidence figures prominently in almost every law suit, but all documents are not necessarily admissible as evidence. The greater majority of the documents which are produced before a court have to be proved by what is legally known as primary evidence, that is to say, by the production of the originals for the inspection of the court. Taylor, who is the highest authority on the English law of evidence, is of the opinion, "An original document must always (subject to some small exceptions) be produced, and a mere copy, however accurate, will not in the first instance be admissible." Taylor

[11] Note in this connexion the emphasis laid in the Memorandum of Conclusion of the Taft Commission on Economy and Efficiency of U. S. Federal Administration (1912) on the need for 'obtaining all the papers relating to a particular subject.'

quotes in his support the cases of *Rex v Watson* and *Dwyer v Collins*,[12] in both of which the court set aside the claims of the parties to adduce copies as evidence.

The "small exceptions" referred to in Taylor's dictum are those of 'public documents' which, as defined by Lord Blackburn in *Sturla v Freccia*, are documents that are made for the purpose of the public making use of them and being able to refer to them and are proved by certified copies.[13] According to Greenleaf they consist of "the acts of public functionaries, in the executive, legislative and judicial departments of government, including under this general head the transactions which official persons are required to enter in books or registers in the course of their public duties and which occur within the circle of their own personal knowledge and observation."[14] Greenleaf's definition is echoed almost word for word in the Indian Evidence Act Section 74, according to which public documents consist of "documents forming the acts or records of the acts of the sovereign authority, of official bodies and tribunals, and of public officers, legislative, judicial and executive." The definition excludes from its scope the transactions which official persons are required to record in the course of their public duty, but that hardly makes any difference, as Section 35 of the Act places such recorded transactions in the category of 'relevant facts' which do not require to be proved by the usual tests. To quote again from Taylor,[15] "official registers or books kept by persons in public offices and similar documents of public nature are generally admissible in evidence although their authenticity be not confirmed by the usual test of truth, namely the swearing and cross-examining of the persons who prepared them. They are entitled to this extraordinary degree of confidence, partly because they are required by law to be kept, ... but principally because they are made under the sanction of official duty, by accredited agents appointed for that purpose."

The principal distinction between public and private documents, as regards admissibility in evidence, consists in the fact that the former can be proved by certified copies while the latter cannot. The chief mark of genuineness of such documents is their being kept in legitimate official custody, i.e. the custody of those who created them or their legitimate successors. Although this point is not stressed in the Indian Evidence Act it can be deduced from both the English and Indian case law. Wigmore says in unmistakable terms that "the existence of an official document in

[12] Taylor, *Evidence* S. 418.
[13] 5. *App. Cas.* 643, 644.
[14] *On Evidence*, p.s. 470.
[15] Taylor, *op. cit.*, S. 1591-1592, see also Taylor S. 1479.

appropriate official custody is sufficient evidence of its genuineness to go to the Jury"[16] and Taylor makes the point even clearer by stressing that the mere fact that a document is in a public office does not make it a public document and that it must be shown that it was prepared by a public servant in the discharge of his official duty.[17]

It would follow from this that archives which have gone astray from the series to which they belonged and whose pedigree cannot be established for certain will never be admissible in evidence although they may remain in official custody. Infinitely weaker is the case of those wanderers which have completely abandoned the care of their appropriate custodian. Numerous examples of derelicts of the latter type can be met with in almost all important MSS repositories, such as, for instance, the British Museum, the Bodleian and the Library of Congress. For such documents to gain the same credence as those in a regular record series in legitimate custody would involve almost certainly the production of the actual document in court and certainly the support by a body of expert testimony of its authenticity. The case would hardly improve even if the archival vagrant returns to its own fold, for it will still continue to bear the marks of suspicion and no custodian will dare to release a certified copy of such a document without appending to it a full history of the many adventures that have befallen it.[18]

So great is the value which is attached by law to custody that a document which is not a public document, although it may have been kept in the legally required form and have been exhibited in original, is not deemed to be genuine unless it is produced from 'proper custody.'[19] By this term the Indian law of evidence means 'the place in which and under the care of the person with whom the documents in question would naturally be.' Proper custody under the same law is also the guarantee of the genuineness of all private documents which are thirty years old.[20] This would mean that no document which is found elsewhere than in the custody of its creator or its legitimate successor can be proved before a law

[16] Wigmore, *On Evidence*, Sec. 2158.

[17] Taylor, SS 1591-95. see also the decisions in *Mahtabdin v. Kasar,* 107 I.C. 618; *Nittyanand v. Abdur Raheem* 7 C. 76.

[18] In England it is strictly forbidden to put back into the archival collection documents which have once been in private possession. The reason for this measure is that an official document which has for some time been out of a depository and in the hands of private individuals runs the risk of no longer being intact but of having been tampered with. In the National Archives, Paris, also the practice has been that documents restored by gift, purchase or legal recovery are never deposited in their natural place which they would necessarily occupy if they had not been removed from the collection to which they belong. A special room and special series are set apart for them. (Muller, Feith, and Fruin: *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives,* p. 98).

[19] Indian Evidence Act, Section 81.

[20] *Ibid.,* Section 90.

court even by primary evidence. This interpretation is based on the established English legal practice which would require proper custody to be a custody proved to have a legitimate origin or an origin the legitimacy of which the circumstances of the case render probable. Chief Justice Tindal, for instance, says: "Documents found in a place in which and under the care of persons with whom such paper might naturally and reasonably be expected to be found, are precisely in the custody which gives authenticity to documents found within it."[21] Almost the same view is expressed by Taylor in the following words: "Care is especially taken to ascertain the genuineness of the ancient documents produced; and this may in general be shown, *prima facie,* by proof that they come from the *proper custody.*"[22] The law thus insists on a satisfactory account of the origin of the possession being given by the party relying on the document. As Justice Jackson once remarked, a document on inspection must exhibit an honest face. Mere age cannot sanctify earmarks of fraud.[23] It follows therefore that the mere production of a document in court is not enough. The custody must be proved by positive evidence.[24]

Further legal opinions might be cited; but enough, I believe, has been said to indicate how inflexibly stern the legal attitude has all along been to documents that have happened to stray out of a regular archive series. If the administrator or even the archivist is sometimes obliged to look upon estrays that have come back to the fold with a spirit of comparative indulgence the law can hardly afford to follow their example. With it the principle has always been one of no compromise with the offence of vagrancy.

SOURINDRANATH ROY

(To be continued)

[21] *Bishop of Meath v. Marquis of Winchester,* 3 Bing N. C. 198, p. 200.
[22] Taylor, *op. cit.* S. 653.
[23] *Hill v. Nisbet,* 58 Ga 586, 589.
[24] *Evan v. Rees,* 10 Ad and E. 151, p. 154.

REPAIR OF DOCUMENTS WITH CELLULOSE ACETATE FOILS ON SMALL SCALE

THE development of the process of laminating documents with cellulose acetate foil has given a new orientation to the art of rehabilitation of archives in that what used to be a slow manual process has come to be done by machine on a large scale. Lamination, however, has its own limitations. While it may in general be regarded as a safe method for the rehabilitation of documents, the advisability of subjecting extremely fragile papers to high temperature (300°F) and pressure (300-1000 lbs. sq. inch) as are required in lamination, has been questioned on fairly reasonable grounds.[1] This is essentially a mechanical process and does not allow much scope for variation in technique demanded by the special condition of individual documents. It has also been reported that temperature slightly higher than the boiling point of water has a harmful effect on the stability of cellulose acetate.[2] The initial heavy cost of a lamination unit makes it impossible for small archival repositories and libraries to make use of this process for the preservation of their treasures as its installation would prove to be uneconomical in view of the limited number of papers or books to be repaired by them.

Protective treatment of papers given by dipping them into, or spraying upon them, solutions of cellulose derivatives and other substances has been tried at the National Bureau of Standards, U.S.A. but without satisfactory results.[3]

At the National Archives of India experiments have been made recently with a process which makes use of cellulose acetate foil and tissue paper. The document is first flattened and then laid flat on a smooth glass surface.[4] A sheet of cellulose acetate foil[5] is spread over it and tissue paper is placed on it. A piece of cotton wool is dipped in acetone,[6] and it is gently applied all over the tissue paper covering the document. The plastic foil below is dissolved or softened by acetone and serves as adhesive for joining the tissue paper with the document. After a minute or so, the surface becomes dry and the document is taken off the glass

[1] Evans, D. L., *British Records Association Tech. Bulletin* No. 18, (Oct. 1945), p. 11.
[2] Langwell, W. H., *Archives*, No. 4, Michaelmas 1950, p. 40.
[3] Scribner, B. W., *Protection of Documents with Cellulose Acetate Sheeting*, N. B. S. *Mis. Pub. M. 168.*
[4] A smooth glass surface is necessary. Oil paper or table surface as base is not helpful.
[5] Cellulose acetate foil used is the same as that used for lamination of documents. Two foils or a foil of double the thickness may be used for rough documents if desired.
[6] An inert solvent (or a suitable mixture of them with or without a small percentage of a plasticizer) which can effectively dissolve or soften cellulose acetate foil is suitable. Acetone being inert, cheap and effective solvent for cellulose acetate is used in the process.

surface and turned over and the second side of the document is treated in the same manner. The ends of the tissue paper projecting from the edges of the document are then trimmed off, leaving strips of 1 to 2 mm. width on the edges. If desired the document may be kept under pressure for about two to three hours or even flattened by a low temperature electric iron after placing it between two pulp boards.

The process described above is suitable for repairing documents broken into pieces. The pieces are arranged in position on a glass surface with strips of cellulose acetate foil placed beneath the joints. Acetone is applied with a cotton piece at these joints when the foil strip below dissolves or softens and joins the fragments together and temporarily to the glass surface below. A thick solution of plastic foil in acetone may also be applied on the joints in place of, or rather in addition to, the above treatment. The document is then covered with an acetate foil and a tissue paper and processed as described earlier with acetone. Hand-made paper strips used to fill in holes and missing parts are similarly joined first and the document as a whole is then repaired on both sides. Sometimes there are scratches in the body of the document or cuttings across the edges, while the document is otherwise in a good condition. A strip of plastic foil may be laid on the cutting and above it a tissue paper strip of such width that the strip of the plastic foil slightly projects beyond the edges of the tissue paper strip. A cotton piece dipped in acetone is then applied on the tissue paper strip. The process is repeated on the other side. An almost invisible reinforcement is thus obtained even when the cutting is across the writings on both sides. The folded and badly creased documents which are otherwise in good condition may be similarly strengthened at the folds as also the documents which require reinforcement only along the edges.

Documents of average size containing raised writing or paintings on one side either on cloth or paper can be reinforced with fine muslin applied with cellulose acetate foil and acetone by a similar process.

Till recently old and fragile documents were almost universally repaired with chiffon or Japanese tissue paper used with an adhesive made from white flour or dextrine or a mixture of the two. Since the use of such adhesives renders the documents liable to attacks of insects, preservatives which are invariably poisonous or corrosive substances, are often added to the paste. Reinforcement with chiffon, though it affords considerable strength to the old documents, is costly and the coating has poor resistance to moisture. Repair of documents with tissue paper, though cheap, obscures writing a good deal. In case of documents which have considerably darkened because of aging, even chiffon repair has been

found to interfere with the legibility of writing. Both these methods are obviously not applicable to writings in water soluble inks. Most of the ancient and mediaeval Indian manuscripts are written in carbon ink the resistance of which to dispersion by water is poor, depending on the extent of gumming in ink. Where no gum has been used the carbon ink writings are liable to easy dispersion by water. For reinforcing old and fragile documents of this type, the process using tissue paper and acetate foil, will provide a good substitute where facilities of lamination are not for one reason or the other available. Besides facilitating the repair problems described above another advantage of the small scale lamination process is the fact that it requires no technical equipment and is always handy and well within the means of individuals and small libraries and archival repositories.

Most of the advantages of transparent coating obtained by machine lamination are retained by this small scale manual lamination process. One significant consideration in this respect is whether the adhesive strength of the reinforcement will be maintained over long periods. Accelerated aging tests carried out at the National Archives of India so far have shown that the coating given will last for a long period. Samples of repaired paper exposed to the sun for hundred hours showed no adverse effects either in regard to colour or the bonding strength of the coating. Sheets of paper reinforced by this process were found to have excellent strength both before and after aging. Tissue paper subjected to the same treatment responded likewise. Treated paper samples were aged and then recovered. The recovered samples and the untreated aged samples showed similar strength.

Recovery of the documents repaired with this process, required for any reason, can be effected by an extremely simple and clean procedure. It may be stated that in the case of strengthening of documents with chiffon or tissue paper with flour-dextrine paste as adhesive, the reinforcement material can be removed by softening the paste with water but the complete removal of the paste and other ingredients is a difficult job because starchy adhesive has to be removed from the surface of the document by scraping, which can cause injury to the writing as well as paper. The removal of silk or tissue paper and paste form a manuscript written in washable ink presents serious difficulties as it cannot be treated in water. If such documents are treated with the process described above, cellulose acetate coating can be removed without any difficulty. For this purpose, the repaired document is laid flat in a shallow basin containing acetone and provided with a cover to prevent evaporation of the solvent. In about half an hour the cellulose acetate coating is completely dissolved by acetone

and the tissue paper and the document separate. It is then straightaway taken out. If the document is very weak or fragmented, it is laid on a fine smooth wire gauze or a plate, placed in a bath of acetone and taken out after some time as such. The recovered document so obtained dries up immediately.

It may, therefore, be hoped that the method will serve as a useful addition to the existing devices for repairing old manuscripts.

O. P. Goel

NEWS NOTES

INDIA

National Archives of India

The National Archives of India has received for custody from the Indian Embassy in Nepal the accumulation of the Nepal Residency Records, 1817-1922. These consist of 21 registers and 903 files which form valuable source materials on the history of Anglo-Nepal relations and internal administration of Nepal. A fairly large number of these records relate to matters connected with the demarcation of boundaries between Nepal and the border districts of India, construction of river *bunds,* exploratory expeditions to the Himalayas and the recruitment of Gurkhas for the British Indian Army. The Surveyor General of India has transferred to the Department twelve volumes of the Original Diaries and Journals in Hindi of the famous Himalayan explorers, Nain Singh, Hari Ram and Ganga Ram. Extracts from these diaries have already been published in the *Records of the Survey of India,* but the original narratives will be of great interest to students of Indian exploration.

Among the other recent accessions are 204,800 papers transferred by the Patent Office, Calcutta, containing the British Printed Specifications, British Abridgements of Specifications, British Official (Patent) Journal, and U.S.A. Official Gazettes, from 1617 to 1900. An authenticated copy of the War Graves Agreement concluded in Rome in 1953, between the Government of Italy and the Governments of Commonwealth countries has been received by the Department from the Ministry of Defence.

Col. R. H. Phillimore, C.I.E., D.S.O., late of the Royal Engineers and the Survey of India, has presented to the Department a valuable collection of copies of documents and maps which he had used in the preparation of the second volume of his monumental work on the *Historical Records of the Survey of India.* These include nine volumes of typescript and manuscript material collected from principal repositories of records and manuscripts in India and the United Kingdom. The photocopies of the maps received from him include eight prints of Ptolemy's map of Asia and many early maps of different parts of India. Col. Phillimore had, in 1949, made a gift of 25 volumes of materials used by him in writing the first volume of his work. These papers will be of immense value to students as they contain full extracts from the available original records on the subject. In appreciation of the work done by Col. Phillimore, it has been decided to keep his unique collection separately and name it the "Col. Phillimore Collection".

Further progress has been made in the microfilming of the records of the Dutch East India Company at the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague. The Department has been able to acquire recently a list in English of the Dutch records of Indian interest relating to 1674-93 which have already been

microcopied for the National Archives of India. The list will be a useful reference tool for those interested in the study of these records. The Rijksarchief is at present engaged in microfilming the records of the Dutch Company for 1693-1700 and compiling a list in English of all the items microfilmed for the Department.

The Department has made arrangements for microcopying of selected items among the *Additional Manuscripts* collection in the British Museum, copies of which are still to be acquired by the National Archives of India. The Public Record Office, London, has also agreed to undertake microfilming of the items of Indian interest among the Chatham and Pitt papers in its custody. Photostat copies of six papers relating to Mahatma Gandhi's admission to the Inner Temple have also been acquired.

A long felt need of the Department has now been satisfied by the establishment of a new section for the administration of maps and other cartographic records. Mr. U. N. Sarkar has been appointed to the post of Map Officer and will be in-charge of the new section. At present the maps in the custody of the Department are being listed and arrangements for their proper reconditioning are being made. The Survey of India has agreed to transfer to the National Archives of India in the first instance its unique collection of about 10,000 historical maps. A large number of miscellaneous maps, revenue maps, field books and memoirs will also be transferred to the Department after some time.

The organization of exhibitions of records has now become an essential feature of the activities of the National Archives of India and a full-time officer has been appointed to arrange the exhibits. The object of these exhibitions is to make people archive conscious and help them to realize the importance of preserving the invaluable source materials of the country's past. A representative collection of historical documents in the custody of the Department will form a permanent exhibition while special displays of records will also be arranged from time to time. For the convenience of the public regular hours have been fixed for the visitors during which they are taken round the Department by the officer in-charge of the exhibitions.

Training in archive-keeping continues to be imparted in the Department. Seven trainees completed their One Year Diploma Course in September 1953 and five of them were successful in the examination held at the end of the term. Four new trainees have been enrolled for the course to be conducted in 1953-54. The training course has been recently reorganized and a system of seminars introduced to afford to the trainees ample opportunities for discussing difficult problems with the Director of Archives and other senior officials of the Department.

The Short Term Course in Archive-Keeping held from 1 July to 30 September 1953 was attended by nineteen employees of the Central and State Governments.

The publication work of the Department continues apace. Two more volumes (II and XVII) of *Fort William—India House Correspondence* have

been sent to press and are expected to be printed in about six months. The Indian Council of Cultural Relations has undertaken the publication of the *Foreign News Letters* (1839-42) under Scheme III (B) of the Publication Programme. The *Kannada Letters* will be published by the Karnatak University and the publication of the *Telugu Letters* is being taken up by the Andhra University.

The work on the air-conditioning of the muniment rooms of the National Archives of India has started and the requisite machinery for the ground floor has arrived. It is expected that all the three floors of the stack area will be air-conditioned in about three years time. The muniment rooms have been provided with gangways to facilitate the cleaning and servicing of the records in the custody of the Department.

The Research Laboratory is investigating the effects of variation of temperature on durability of paper. It has also been carrying out experiments regarding neutralization of acidity in paper with re-agents that will not wash out the writing. It has been found that dilute solutions of calcium hydroxide cannot be used with safety in cases of writing in water soluble inks. The efficacy of the varnish prepared with phenol, mercuric chloride and methylated spirit for protection of binding cloth and board against book pests is also being examined.

The Films Division of the Central Ministry of Information and Broadcasting has recently produced a documentary film on the National Archives of India. It was well received by the public.

Mr. Gopal Krishna of the Central Secretariat Service joined the Department on 13 June 1953 as Assistant Director of Archives (Administration).

Madras Record Office, Madras

The cataloguing of the Tanjore Raj Records which were transferred to the Madras Government in 1951 has been successfully completed by the special staff engaged for this purpose. It has been decided to retain permanently all the papers of administrative or research value at the Madras Record Office. The unimportant documents in the collection will be handed over to the Serfoji Saraswathy Mahal Library, Tanjore, on the condition that *bona fide* research students will be allowed to consult them.

The recent accessions to the archival holdings of the Office include the Secretariat Records for 1949, records of the Bellary Collectorate (105 bundles) of the pre-Mutiny period, the records relating to the 1951 census operations in Madras and the files of the Office of the Superintendent of Census Operations for Madras and Coorg. The other important accessions include hundreds of volumes containing grants, deeds and other legal documents beginning from the Company's period and registerable under the old regulations which were till now kept in the custody of the District Registrars of Assurances.

The books published in Madras State since 1867 which were so far lying in the Office of the Registrar of Books have been transferred to the Madras

Record Office. These volumes, numbering about 200,000, have been sorted and listed with the help of special staff and will be of much use for historical research and official reference. The Registrar of Books will hereafter keep only the publications registered during the last three years and will annually transfer to the Madras Record Office the older publications.

Consequent on the creation of Andhra State it has been decided to divide the records of undivided Madras; the new State and Mysore State will be given the records relating to the areas included in them. The following are the main lines on which the division of records is taking place:

(1) All records of the pre-Mutiny period, whether they be Secretariat records, District records, or other records will remain in the residuary State.

(2) Of the Secretariat records and of the Board of Revenue records of the post-Mutiny period those which are in the shape of separate files and relate exclusively to the Andhra and Mysore areas will be separated for transfer. All original records of common interest of the post-Mutiny period will remain in the residuary State, but typed copies of records subsequent to 15 August 1947 will be prepared for transfer to Andhra and Mysore States.

(3) The District records of the post-Mutiny period which are in the districts will go to the Andhra and Mysore States along with the areas transferred to those States.

West Bengal Records Office

The administrative control over the records of West Bengal has recently been transferred from the Home Department of the State Government to the Department of Education. The old records which were temporarily housed at Berhampore during the last war are now being transferred to Calcutta.

Indian Historical Records Commission

Twenty-four leading archivists and historians from eleven foreign countries have been appointed as Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission. These include Sir Hilary Jenkinson, Sir Theodore E. Gregory, Professor C. H. Philips and Dr. T. G. P. Spear from the United Kingdom; Dr. Wayne C. Grover, Dr. Solon J. Buck, Dr. Ernst Posner, Dr. Arthur E. Kimberly, Dr. Holden Furber and Dr. Lester K. Born from the United States of America; Dr. D. P. M. Graswinckel and Dr. Maria Jurriaanse from the Netherlands; Dr. Asgaut Stainnes from Norway; Dr. Axel Linvald from Denmark; M. C. Tihon from Belgium; Dr. J. H. O. Paulusz and Dr. G. C. Mendis from Ceylon; Dr. A. Toussaint from Mauritius; Dr. Riazul Islam, Mr. Mahommad Sadullah and Mr. S. M. Jaffar from Pakistan; Professor Saeed Nafissi from Iran; and Mr. Tao Soo Chye and Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie from Malaya.

The Thirtieth Annual Session of the Commission will be held at Hyderabad on 1-3 February 1954.

LOCAL RECORDS SUB-COMMITTEE

The Local Records Sub-Committee has been reconstituted in accordance with the new constitution of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The Sub-Committee consists of the following members:

1. Educational Adviser to the Government of India, Ministry of Education, *ex-officio* Chairman.
2. Mr. Fateh Singh, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs.
3. Mr. R. G. Mundkur, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Finance.
4. Mr. C. Ganesan, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of States.
5. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Director, Combined Inter-Services Historical Section, Ministry of Defence.
6. The Estate Officer, Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply.
7. Dr. J. N. Khosla, Director, Historical Division, Ministry of External Affairs.
8. Professor M. Mujeeb, Vice-Chancellor, Jamia Millia, Delhi (Co-opted for one year.)
9. Director of Archives, Government of India, New Delhi, *ex-officio* Secretary.

TWENTY-FIRST MEETING OF THE RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

The Research and Publication Committee reviewed the progress of the Publication Programme of the National Archives of India at its Twenty-first Meeting held at New Delhi on 29 August 1953 and suggested some important measures for expediting the publication of the volumes included in the scheme. The meeting was presided over by Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, Educational Adviser to the Government of India and *ex-officio* Chairman of the Committee.

The Committee recommended that the Honorary Editors of *Fort William—India House Correspondence* who had not completed the editing of volumes assigned to them should be requested to complete their work by the end of December 1953 to enable the Director of Archives to get their volumes published at an early date. In order to expedite the printing of the volumes in the Series the Committee recommended that this work should be given to private presses. At the suggestion of Dr. Surendranath Sen the Committee recommended to the Government of India to consider sympathetically requests for financial aid from institutions and universities for the publication of records in oriental languages included in Scheme III (A) of the Publication Programme of the National Archives of India. It was felt that such financial assistance would give a great incentive to the institutions which had undertaken these publications and would enable them to publish these volumes. By another resolution, moved by Prof. C. D. Deshpande, the Committee recommended that all State Record Offices, institutions and learned societies be requested to prepare lists of maps and other cartographic records in their

custody and send copies of the same to the National Archives of India from time to time.

National Committee of Archivists

The Government of India have set up a National Committee of Archivists. The Committee consists of the Director of Archives, Government of India (Chairman and Convener) and all the State Archivists. The Committee will normally meet bi-annually and will consider technical problems concerning the maintenance of records of the central and state governments with a view to effect economy in their preservation and exchange ideas on other archival problems peculiar to India.

State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments, Bombay

The Government of Bombay reconstituted in February 1953 the State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments. The Education Secretary of the State Government is *ex-officio* President of the Board and the Director of Archives, Bombay, is its *ex-officio* Secretary. The term of office of the members, other than *ex-officio* members, is for three years. The functions of the Board are as follows:

(*i*) to guide and coordinate research activities of Record Offices and Research Institutes in the State; to undertake research in manuscript records including old maps and pictures; to consider the acquisition of records relating to the history of the State and to suggest ways and means for their preservation and publication whenever necessary.

(*ii*) to advise Government in the matter of nominating representatives from institutions in the State to the Indian Historical Records Commission, its sub-committees and such other bodies and

(*iii*) to look after historical monuments and sites not looked after by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India; to suggest ways and means for their conservation and to advise on the working and establishment of the existing and new historical and archaeological museums in the State of Bombay.

The Board meets twice a year and is empowered to appoint committees for expediting its work and to co-opt outside experts on these committees if necessary.

Regional Records Survey Committee, Delhi

The State Government has set up a permanent Regional Historical Records Survey Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Professor of History, University of Delhi. The Committee includes the Director of Archives to the Government of India, three representatives of the old families of Delhi, two members of the State Legislative Assembly and a

member of Parliament elected from Delhi. Mr. Tej Bhan has been appointed Convener of the Committee. The functions of the Committee as defined in the resolution of the State Government are:

(1) to set up a central records repository for Delhi State for proper storing, maintenance and preservation of old records obtained for the purpose of the Committee.

(2) to take steps to collect as many old records of the past of Delhi as possible by purchase or on loan

(3) to take steps for legislating against the export of any historical materials from Delhi area and also their disposal or destruction without the permission of competent authority

(4) to take steps to make it obligatory on all public and semi-public bodies to transfer all their old records to the central records repository when no longer required in their offices

(5) to take necessary steps to arouse public interest and enthusiasm for the old records of Delhi by means of periodical public meetings, radio talks, issue of educational pamphlets, show of documentary films on Archive Science and related topics; to induce individuals, institutions, firms and societies to send their documents to the repository for custody and

(6) to provide facilities for research in the old historical records to *bona fide* students, and to encourage such research by award of scholarships, if necessary.

Regional Records Survey Committee, Madras

The Committee was reconstituted on 4 July 1952 with Mr. T. Balakrishna Nayar, Chief Professor of History, Presidency College, Madras, as Convener. Since its reconstitution it has met twice and made several attempts to contact persons and institutions who possess records and manuscripts of historical interest. It also passed a resolution requesting the State Government to issue instructions to the Collectors of districts in the State to ascertain, whenever they get opportunities, which of the representatives of old families, business firms, and social, cultural and political societies possess records and historical manuscripts. It also recommended to the State Government that the Collectors might be asked to persuade such individuals and societies to contact the Convener of the Committee and that the Convener might be allowed to correspond with the Collectors. The State Government has accepted these recommendations and issued suitable orders.

Regional Records Survey Committee, Hyderabad

The fourth meeting of the Regional Records Survey Committee of Hyderabad was held on 29 August 1952 to devise plans for furthering the survey of records in the State. The Committee is making efforts to examine, and if possible acquire, the old records and papers from the estate of the late

Nawab Salar Jung which have passed into the custody of the Jagir Administration. Efforts are also being made to examine the valuable collection of Persian Manuscripts belonging to Nawab Inayat Jung Bahadur. Dr. P. Srinivasachar, a member of the Committee, has reported that the Raja of Wanparthy has a considerable collection of Kannada, Telugu and Sanskrit manuscripts in his palace at Wanparthy. The Committee is trying to secure a catalogue of these manuscripts. Dr. M. Rahatulla Khan and Mr. K. M. Ahmed visited Bidar on behalf of the Committee in November-December 1952 and reported that some manuscripts of the Bahmani period were available there in private possession. The Committee will arrange for their inspection with a view to assess their value for historical research.

The historical papers from Raja Raghottum Rao Rajendra's Devdi at Shahali Bunda, Hyderabad, have been recently acquired by the Committee. The collection consists of about 70,000 papers, including political correspondence, memoranda, treaties, engagements, covenants, sanads, dastaks, diaries, military despatches etc. These are expected to be useful for the study of the 18th century history of the Deccan. The oldest papers in the collection date back to 1672 A.D. As a result of the efforts made by Raja Triambak Raj, Secretary of the Committee, a small collection of Persian and Urdu manuscripts has been acquired from the Bharat Gunavardhak Sanstha of Hyderabad. All these manuscripts are kept at the Central Records Office of the State.

Official History of the Indian Armed Forces in the Second World War (1939-45)

For some time past the Combined Inter-Services Historical Section has been engaged in preparing a detailed history of the Second World War, with reference to operations in which the Armed Forces of Undivided India took a prominent part. The work, in about 20 volumes, will be entitled the *Official History of the Indian Armed Forces in the Second World War 1939-1945.* These volumes have been written by a research team consisting of historians and military officers, under the direction of Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Director, Combined Inter-Services Historical Section, and Professor of History, University of Delhi. The information has been derived from original sources comprising war diaries, official reports, despatches, memoirs and state documents. The facts thus derived have been carefully checked up with the drafts of war histories being written in the other Allied countries. Secondary sources such as books written by authors of repute have also been examined; and finally the drafts of completed histories have been shown to the commanders of troops and high officers of the Government of India to ensure accuracy of facts.

The primary aim of this authoritative history, as in other countries, is to preserve a record, for the coming generations, of the part played by the three Services of undivided India in Second World War. But that is not their sole utility. Other aims have been kept in view and these volumes have been so devised as to be of use to the Service officers, the departments of adminis-

tration and the general public who have a responsibility in a democratic state to determine the policies of their governments. As text-books they will be found invaluable by the various Service Schools and Staff Colleges imparting military education, and by the Universities teaching military science. As works of reference they will fill an important place in the various Government and public libraries and in the libraries of Universities, Colleges, Research Institutions, Information Services, and similar bodies.

As a help to the enlightened citizen who wishes to extend his knowledge of military subjects, these volumes will prove equally useful, since special care has been taken to present the history in a way intelligible to the general public, by eliminating, as far as possible, unfamiliar technical terms. Authors, statesmen, journalists, military historians and writers of military subjects, in fact all those whose work brings them into regular contact with military subjects, will find in these volumes an inexhaustible source of information.

The volumes of this History have been arranged in the following three series:

(1) Campaigns in the Theatres east of India
(2) Campaigns in the Theatres west of India
(3) General War Administration and Organisation.

There are also volumes on the history of the Royal Indian Navy and the Royal Indian Air Force. In addition there is an Introductory volume which will give a general survey of the Second World War and India's part in it. This is the key volume giving a brief connected account of the war, particularly surveying the strategic aspects of the campaigns and bringing out prominently the part which India played in the war.

Some volumes are at present in the press and will be published in batches as they are printed. The sale of the volumes is being organised by the Manager, Publication Branch, Government of India, Delhi.

INTERNATIONAL

The Second International Congress on Archives

The Second International Congress on Archives, sponsored by the International Council on Archives, was held at The Hague, from 16 to 19 June 1953. Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands graciously conferred her patronage on the Congress and its Honorary Committee included among others the Minister of Education, Arts and Sciences, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of the Interior of the host country. The Congress was well attended; over 330 delegates belonging to twenty countries were registered. Dr. B. A. Saletore, Director of Archives, Government of India and Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, attended as the representative of the Commission and Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives, Government of Bombay, participated in the Congress on behalf of his State Government.

WORK SESSIONS

The proceedings of the Congress were opened on the morning of 16 June by His Excellency M. J. M. L. Th. Cals, Minister of Education, Arts and Sciences of the Netherlands. These were six work sessions, each devoted to the discussion of important problems of common interest to archivists all over the world. These included: (1) Uniformity of Archival Terms, (2) Archives and Documentation, (3) Archives and the History of Art, (4) Historical Museums of Records, (5) Professional Training of Archivists, and (6) Communication by loan of Documents. The discussion in each session started with a general report presented by the *rapporteur* of the section concerned and prepared as the result of an earlier enquiry made on the subject.

Mr. Herman Hardenberg of the State Archives of the Netherlands initiated the discussion on the problem of 'Uniformity of Archival Terms'. His report based on the answers to the elaborate questionnaire contained a clear exposition of the principal divergences with regard to the archival terminology used in various countries. He proposed that there should be uniformity in the use of conventional terms and suggested the appointment of a committee for the realization of this object. The Congress agreed to this suggestion and recommended to the International Congress on Archives to establish a committee to consider the preparation of a glossary of archival terms in English, French, German, Italian and Dutch.

The report for the work session on 'Archives and Documentation' was presented by M. Camille Tihon, Archivist General of the Kingdom of Belgium. It revealed that most of the archivists were not in favour of the establishment of documentation centres on a large scale in Archives as that would exceed the bounds of the normal functions of archival repositories. It was feared that such ancillary activities would interfere with the essential duties of archivists in regard to the maintenance, sorting and inventorying of the documents in their custody and making them available to researchers.

'Archives and the History of Art' was the subject for the third work session. The *rapporteur,* Count Riccardo Filangieri de Candida Gonzaga, emphasized the great value of documentary evidence available among archives for the history of art in contrast to the insignificant art objects usually available in records repositories. He explained how archives serve as an aid to the real history of art, namely the documentation of facts, and said that the functions of archives in relation to the history of art were consequently indentical to that which they perform in relation to the study of any other branch of history. He added that it was not possible to arrange for separate storage or special classification of the documents on history of art as they form a part of the various records series in archival repositories.

The report on 'Historical Museums of Records' was presented by Mlle Régine Pernoud of the Archives Nationales of France. It showed that the historical museums mainly composed of records were relatively few and for the greater part established quite recently. All these museums were

directly dependant on the record offices by which they had been organized and usually were directed by archivists themselves.

Sir Hilary Jenkinson, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of England, presented the report on the 'Professional Training of Archivists' and explained how the training in archive-keeping was closely related in each country to the nature and organization of its Archives. He illustrated this point by giving some details of the archival organization in the United Kingdom and the nature of the records available in the records repositories of the country at different levels of administration and the qualification and training required for archival appointments. The report, however, revealed that adequate arrangements did not exist in several countries for the training of archivists. During the discussion which followed the exposition given by Sir Hilary, Dr. Saletore spoke on the arrangements made by the Government of India at their National Archives for training in archive-keeping.

The last work session was devoted to the discussion of the rather controversial subject of 'Communication by loan of Documents'. The report prepared by the Archivist of the United States, Dr. Wayne C. Grover, and read in his absence by Dr. Lester K. Born, reviewed the practices prevalent in different countries regarding loan of documents within their territories and international loan of records for purposes of scholarly research. He pointed out that most of the international lending takes place among states of Western Europe, who have either contiguous boundaries or a common cultural and political heritage. Dr. Grover's report revealed that the State Archives which do not allow international lending at present had no intention of changing their policy in the matter. It was felt that there was no hope for world-wide exchange of archives for research and a more practicable way of promoting it was the development of a system of international exchanges of microfilm reproductions on a reciprocal basis. In doing this the archivists would be rightly performing their duty of making the records in their custody readily available for legitimate use.

The programme of the Congress also included excursions to important places of historical interest and archival repositories in and around The Hague, including the General State Archives of the Netherlands and the Archives of the Royal House. These visits were highly interesting and instructive and afforded to the archivists assembled for the Congress an opportunity for studying the methods of archive-keeping in the Netherlands.

MEETING OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON ARCHIVES

The Constituent Assembly of the International Council on Archives met on the afternoon of 15 June, the day before the opening of the Congress. It elected as President, Dr. D. P. M. Graswinckel, Director General of the Archives of the Netherlands; as Vice-Presidents, Dr. Ingvar Andersson, Director General of the Archives of Sweden, and Dr. William K. Lamb, Dominion Archivist,

Canada; as members of the Executive Board, Mr. D. Evans (U.K.), Count Riccardo Filangieri (Italy) and Dr. Wayne C. Grover (U.S.A.). The new Executive Board subsequently re-elected M. Guy Duboscq (France) as Treasurer and Dr. Lester K. Born (U.S.A.) as Secretary General. The Constituent Assembly decided to convene the Third International Congress on Archives in 1956 at Florence, Italy. It also accepted some minor verbal changes in the constitution which were recommended by the Standing Committee on Constitution and agreed to enhance the subscription rates as suggested by the Finance Committee of the Council. The new rates which are applicable from 1 January 1954 are: Associations—75 Swiss Francs; National Institutions—75 Swiss Francs; other Institutions—25 Swiss Francs: Individuals—15 Swiss Francs.

The Constituent Assembly approved the constitution of a Joint Committee composed of three representatives, each from the ICA, FID and IFLA as a medium for united action before such bodies as UNESCO. It also accepted five resolutions offered by the Society of American Archivists through its delegate Mr. William Van Schreeven and referred them to the Executive Board of the Council for suitable action. The first of these resolutions recommended that the Editor of the *Archivum* be instructed to include in the Journal as early as possible an article on the archival periodicals of the world as they serve as an index to the activities of archivists and archival administrations. In the second resolution the International Council on Archives was requested to study the feasibility of compiling a selected and annotated universal bibliography on archival administration. The third resolution contained a recommendation for exploring the possibility of compilation of a universal guide to the records of international government as well as non-government sponsored conferences which are scattered all over the world. The Assembly also instructed the Executive Board to arrange for the compilation of the data on fees for research and reference services in the archives of various countries and publish this in the *Archivum* to help researchers. According to the last resolution the Organizing Committee of the Third Congress was instructed to arrange for sectional meetings devoted to the presentation of major papers, which are not necessarily general reports, on significant topics of world-wide interest.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON ARCHIVES

The new Executive Board of the ICA which met immediately after the close of the Congress on 19 June, endorsed the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly to consider the question of large scale microfilm operations referred to it by the UNESCO. The Board also accepted the proposals made by the Congress which has no independent authority; namely that the ICA establish a committee to consider the preparation of a glossary of archival terms and that it establish minimum standards of security for international loans of archives.

Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Microfilms

In pursuance of the resolution of the General Conference of UNESCO asking for the advice of competent international organizations on the problem of reproduction of documents preserved in libraries and archives, the International Council on Archives appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Hilary Jenkinson of the United Kingdom to examine this problem. The Committee met on 18 June 1953 and made the following report:

(1) Microfilming of manuscripts and documents should be authorized to the greatest possible extent in order to assist in the diffusion of culture and to promote fruitful cultural exchanges among the nations of the world.

(2) The present state of the technique would not permit successful international agreements or even bilateral conventions between governments in this field.

(3) On the other hand, bilateral agreements between archival institutions of different countries are possible and have already been successful in practice.

(4) These agreements should be concluded solely for the purpose of aiding scientific research, and for that reason the price of microfilms should be kept as low as possible. All possible precautions should also be taken to prevent any commercial exploitation of the microfilms produced as a result of such agreements.

(5) In order to further the agreements of this sort and to aid in general the development of direct relations among archival intitutions, a copy of each agreement should be deposited with the Secretariat of the International Council on Archives, who would endeavour to establish an information service for the members in their particular fields.

International Guide on Archives

According to a report published in the *Unesco Bulletin for Libraries* (February-March 1953) the International Council on Archives has decided to compile a new *International Guide on Archives* and a committee has been appointed to prepare this work. Its members are Sir Hilary Jenkinson (U.K.), Dr. G. Vaucher (Switzerland) and Dr. D. P. M. Graswinckel (The Netherlands). To collect the necessary information, the Committee has circulated a questionnaire to all countries, requesting detailed information on archival institutions, publications, etc.

Inter-Governmental Conference for the adoption of an International Convention for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict

The Executive Board of the UNESCO has accepted in accordance with resolutions 4.214 and 4.215 the offer of the Government of the Netherlands to

arrange for holding in Holland the Conference for the adoption of an international convention for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict, to make to UNESCO a financial contribution for this purpose and to grant other facilities. The Board decided that the Conference should be held at The Hague at the end of April or beginning of May 1954. It may be recalled that the UNESCO has been working for the conclusion of such a convention and at its General Conference held in 1952 considered a draft for the same and recommended that an inter-governmental conference should be held for realization of the object.

Liaison Committee of International Organizations for Libraries, Archives and Documentation

A joint meeting of the representatives of the International Federation of Library Associations, International Federation for Documentation, International Council on Archives, International Association of Music Libraries and International Standards Organization held at Copenhagen in September 1952 decided to set up a Committee of Liaison for Libraries, Archives and Documentation. The Committee met at Unesco House, Paris, on 24-25 April 1953 and framed a constitution which is to be submitted to each member organization for ratification. The Constitution provides that the founding members shall be categorized as *general* (IFLA, FID, ICA) and *specialized* (IAML and ISO). Each of the former are to be permanently represented on the Bureau of the Committee and will hold the offices of President, General Secretary and Treasurer in succession. The specialized organizations will collectively nominate one member of the Bureau, until their membership of the Committee exceeds five, when they will nominate two members of the Bureau. The objects of the Committee are:

(1) To assure liaison between the member organizations and to promote the grouping of international non-governmental organizations having similar aims, within the Committee.

(2) To promote international meetings such as conferences, discussions or meetings of experts convened in common or individually by the member organizations and to assist international understanding by the development of libraries, documentation and archives.

The Committee has tentatively agreed that IFLA should undertake to arrange a world conference in 1955 where matters of interest to the other member bodies could be discussed within the framework of a general theme which it would decide. The Committee received from the Director General of UNESCO a request for advice and suggestions on the possible need of an international convention for regulating the microfilming of library and archive materials.

The International Federation for Documentation—Manual on Document Reproduction and Selection

The International Federation for Documentation (FID), The Hague, has undertaken the publication of a practical international guide to methods of

document reproduction and selection. The methods and apparatus used for the various processes of reproducing and selecting documents will be described by specialists of international reputation. As conditions vary a good deal in different countries the object of the guide will be to help readers in the selection of the device most suited to their requirements by describing the special features of each method and its particular use. The manual will be published in two parts in loose leaf form.

THE VATICAN

The Vatican Library

Permission has recently been granted by the authorities for the microfilming of old manuscripts, incunabulae and rare volumes, including many works not previously photographed, housed in the Vatican Library. About 120,000 works are expected to be microfilmed in about three years.

UNITED KINGDOM

National Register of Scotland

The Fifth Report of the National Register of Scotland gives an encouraging picture of the survey work done by the Register. It includes a brief account of the family archives examined by the staff of the Register relating to diverse subjects. Among the family papers of Captain Murray Buchanan of Leny, Callander (Perth) are some papers of Indian interest. These include letters and other papers, 1795-1829, of Dr. Francis Hamilton Buchanan regarding his surveys in India and the books he wrote on them when he returned home, including letters from eminent botanists, orientalists and scientists, *viz.* Cuvier, Sir Charles Wilkins, Sir James Edward Smith, Sir Joseph Banks and Sir David Brewster.

DOCUMENTARY REPRODUCTION

Cheap Portable Microfilm Reader

A new model of a cheap portable microfilm reader suitable for individual use for reading, projecting and enlarging all types of microfilm material is now being manufactured in France. The reader projects on to a table. It is equipped for different voltages and uses a standard modern projection lamp. This apparatus, known as *Kangaroo,* can accommodate microfilm in rolls and strips and sheet microfilm up to 105 × 150 mm. The price of this reader is 12,500 French Francs.

New Camera for Xerography

A new camera that reduces or enlarges a drawing, chart or other subject by the xerography process directly on to an 8¼ x 13 inch Xero X plate is announced by the Haloid Company, Rochester, N.Y. (U.S.A.). To make the exposure, the operator places the copy on to the 17 x 22 inch Tilting Copy Board, and brings the board into exposure position to the camera, in which an electrostatically charged Xero X plate has been placed. After exposure, the plate is removed from the camera and processed in the Xero X Copier. The image is transferred to an offset paper master or to translucent (engineering) paper and made permanent by a few seconds fusing.

Xerography, a dry, direct positive, electrostatic reproduction process, requires no water, chemicals, film, dark-room or sensitized materials.

BOOK REVIEWS

Report of the Royal Commission on National Development on the Arts, Letters and Sciences 1949-1951 (Ottawa 1951; Volume I, Report, pp. xxi + 517, Volume II, Studies, pp. 430).

IT has been one of the accepted commonplaces that the spheres of arts, letters and sciences are exclusively the domains of the private individuals wherein the State has no place. The oft-quoted statement of Napoleon censuring his officials for the lack of poets and artists in France is regarded as the most notorious example of the absurd pretensions of authority. But gradually it has come to be realised that even if the State cannot itself create works of art and literature, it alone can create the conditions which make such works possible; and today some measure of official responsibility in this field has been accepted in all nations regardless of the political philosophy that prevails. The welfare state, in other words, has a cultural aspect. This acceptance of the State's obligations led to the appointment in Canada in 1949 of a Royal Commission to investigate the conduct of Federal agencies dealing with cultural matters and suggest improvements; for "it is in the national interest to give encouragement to institutions which express national feeling, promote common understanding and add to the variety and richness of Canadian life, rural as well as urban". The Commission, presided over by Mr. Vincent Massey, presented its Report in 1951; and this has been published along with a volume of background studies written by specialists and covering the various activities with which the Commission was concerned.

The Royal Commission, with very wide terms of reference, has reported on many aspects of national and cultural development, including the press, broadcasting and television, films, universities, music, ballet and the theatre. Readers of *The Indian Archives* will naturally be particularly interested in the essay on Canadian Archives written for the Commission by Col. Stacey of the Historical Section of the Defence Ministry and in the chapters of the *Report* which deal with this subject. The truth about Canada's public records system must, says the Commission frankly, "still be a cause of embarrassment to all Canadians". Set up in 1872 as part of the Department of Agriculture, the Canadian Archives was centralised in 1903 and three years later housed in a separate building. A Royal Commission reported in 1914 that many Government departments failed to surrender non-current public records to the Archives or to destroy those which had no historical value. The Commission suggested that surrender of files should be mandatory after 25 years and that proper steps should be taken for weeding of records. Nearly 30 years after, in 1945, a Public Records Committee was set up to consider recommendations of departments for transfer or destruction of documents: but even this belated action was inadequate for the initiative remains with the departments. The result is indiscriminate storage tempered, at best, by covert and unintelligent destruction. There are apparently all over Ottawa huge

dumps of federal records, unsafe, inaccessible, often even unknown in detail. According to a reliable estimate, Canada is spending 350,000 dollars every year in storing files of which probably at least half should be destroyed, whereas the total appropriation for Archives in 1948-49 was only 163,238 dollars.

But even if fifty per cent of these records were destroyed and the rest transferred, the Canadian Archives would not, for want of space and staff, be in a position to receive them. The building is solidly constructed and almost completely fireproof, and additional space could easily be made available but besides public records proper, many other categories such as personal papers, pictures, portraits and newspapers are held, and this heterogeneity makes impossible a proper expansion of the institution as an official record office. We are informed that the second Dominion Archivist, Sir Arthur Doughty, wished to gather under one roof all the material necessary for writing the history of Canada. This object, however laudable, is one which in the present day is utopian, but even the present Commission does not sufficiently recognise this, and so long as there is no separation of public and private records, any Archives will be faced with a superhuman task. As it is, it is generally accepted that no proper study of modern Canadian history is possible and it is doubtful if the many wise suggestions of the Commission, such as the systematic and continuous transfer of records, proper training of archivists and the establishment of a Historical Manuscripts Commission will be able to remedy this. What seems to be required are a specific definition of categories and distinct allotment of functions.

But it is recommended that the whole *Report* be read by those interested in national development and education in its broadest sense. The *Report* of the Canadian "Culture Commission" is itself part of the culture it seeks to promote.

S. Gopal

An Historical Interpretation of the Correspondence of Sir George Russel Clerk, Political Agent, Ambala and Ludhiana 1831-43, by Indra Krishen; The Punjab Government Record Office Publication No. 3 (Simla [1952] pp. xii +482).

The Treaty of Amritsar (1809) has rightly been regarded as a landmark in the history of Anglo-Sikh relations. It put a check on Ranjit Singh's plans to extend his dominion south of the Sutlej and limited once for all the rising power of the Sikh chief to the Trans-Sutlej territories. The Cis-Sutlej states now came under the protection of the British power and the latter stationed Political Agents within the territory at Karnal, Ambala and Ludhiana to exercise effective control over these states. The Political Agents also served as a channel of communication with the Lahore Durbar. These outposts of the British empire were manned in succession by a line of able men like David Ochterlony, William Murray, Claude Martin Wade and George Russel Clerk

and they played a significant role in shaping the East India Company's policy towards the Sikh rulers on both sides of the Sutlej. The correspondence of the Agents is therefore of great historical value as it mirrors the Anglo-Sikh relations for a period of about forty years and contains useful material for the study of political and administrative developments in the Punjab during the period. The students of the history of this border state will therefore welcome the publication of Dr. Indra Krishen's work on the correspondence of one of these great Political Agents.

Clerk served as Agent at Ambala and Ludhiana for a period of twelve years, from 1831 to 1843, a period of great interest in the annals of the Punjab. Apart from maintaining diplomatic relations with the Lahore Durbar he helped in restoring order in the Cis-Sutlej states and reforming their administration. He proved to be not merely a great statesman but successfully played the role of a great administrator. He was responsible for establishing many wise rules and conventions for his government to follow in cases of succession disputes, escheats, boundary disputes and similar difficult problems pertaining to the disturbed territories south of the Sutlej. The scope of the publication under review is limited to Clerk's correspondence relating to the Cis-Sutlej chiefs (1831-43) to the exclusion of that relating to the kingdom of Lahore, a better known and better studied subject. The author has carefully analysed the contents of the vast correspondence and has given a clear exposition of some of the baffling problems with which Clerk had to deal. The chapters on the laws of succession among the Sikh chiefs, who really had no rigid laws as such, the quarrels between these rulers and their feudal dependents, escheats of chiefships to the suzerain power, the disputes between the Sikh rulers and the British Government and the problems of mal-administration in the vast Cis-Sutlej territories are all very interesting. The author has collected an immense amount of useful material in the book which is not easily accessible elsewhere. The work displays his tremendous industry, scholarship and interest in the subject.

The value of the publication is unfortunately marred by its bad printing and production. This is easily the worst produced work which has ever come into the hands of the reviewer. Every page of the publication bristles with misprints and battered types; there are serious mistakes even in printing of titles of the main chapters. The title page does not bear even the name of the author, the publisher and the year of publication. Both the printer and the publisher are to be blamed for making this useful work unreadable.

V. C. Joshi

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